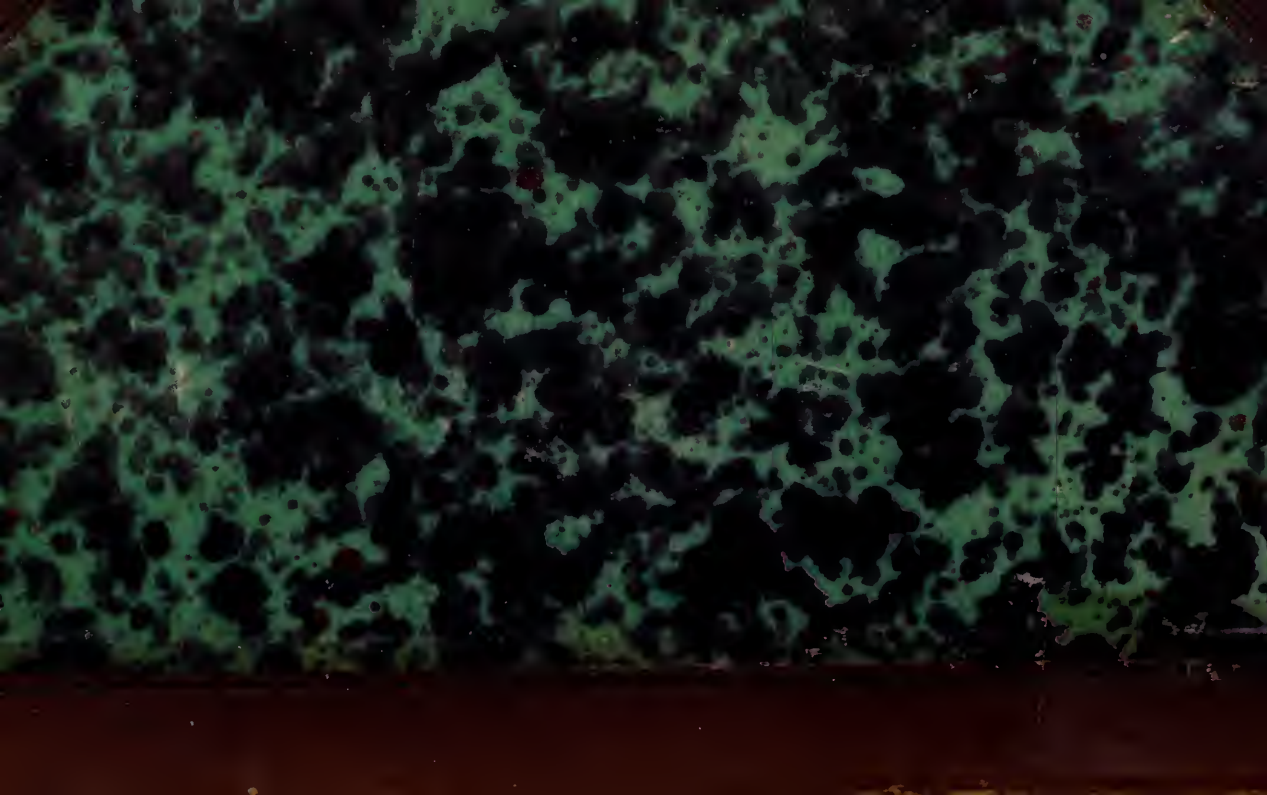

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Vol. I. p. XII. note 1.

I am, Dear Sir, yours ever T. B.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset,
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.
Mart.

Published by C. Rivington, March 1. 1810.

THE

WORKS

OF THE REVEREND

THOMAS TOWNSON, D. D.

LATE ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND;

ONE OF THE RECTORS OF MALPAS, CHESHIRE;

AND SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DISCOURSES ON THE GOSPELS,

AND A SERMON ON THE QUOTATIONS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT,

BY

RALPH CHURTON, M. A.

ARCHDEACON OF ST DAVID'S,

RECTOR OF MIDDLETON CHENEY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,

AND LATE FELLOW OF BRASEN NOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

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1810.

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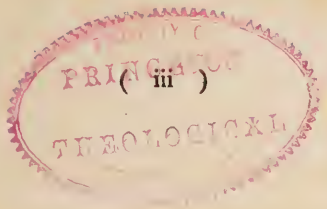

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SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR.

Non possum reticere, Deæ, qua Manlius in re
Juverit, aut quantis juverit officiis.

CATULL.

PROPERTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR.

THE Reverend THOMAS TOWNSON, D.D. whose works, having long been out of print and much called for, are now collected and laid before the Public in a new edition, was the eldest son of the Reverend John Townson, M. A. rector of Much Lees in Essex, by his wife Lucretia, daughter of the Reverend Edward Wiltshire, rector of Kirkanders in Cumberland. He was born in 1715, and baptized the seventh of April. They had issue, besides, two sons and three daughters: Anne Stuart, who died in 1750: Lucretia, married June 10, 1761, to the Reverend Thomas Winchester, D.D. rector of Appleton, Berks: Edward Wiltshire, and Eleanor, who both died young: and John, who in 1780 was chosen member of Parliament for Milbourn Port, and re-chosen in 1784; and, having for many years been one of the Directors of the Honourable East India Company, departed this life March 3, 1797, aged 72.

Mr. Townson the father was a native of Lancashire; but the family came originally from Yorkshire: and it is believed that Robert Townson, bishop of Salisbury in the last century, was of the same stock[1]. He was educated in St. Mary Magdalen Hall in Oxford; and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1710. He was presented in June 1713 to the rectory of Much Lees, by Margaret, Catharine, and Anne Lennard, coheiresses of the Honourable Henry Lennard, second son of Francis Lord Dacre; who afterwards sold the advowson to Lincoln College in Oxford. Mr. Townson rebuilt the parsonage (1716), and instituted a charity school; which being, I presume, supported by subscriptions contributed or procured by him, fell at his death. He was chaplain to the last duchess of Buckingham; and traveled with her son, the last duke. Those who remember him say, "he was a most ingenious man[2];" which the reader probably will readily believe on perusing the following lines, with which I shall close what I have here to say concerning the family, and return to the more immediate subject of this narrative:

Translation of SANNAZARIUS'S VERSES on VENICE[3],
By J. T. 1715.

Venice amidst the waves when Neptune saw,
And to the fetter'd ocean giving law;
Now, Jove, he said, Tarpeian towers oppose,
And walls where Mars his habitation chose:
To Tiber's stream if Adria must give way,
The glories of each city well survey:

[1] On the authority of the late James Harris, Esq. of Salisbury, one of whose ancestors married a daughter of Bishop Townson. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 817.

[2] The Rev. Thomas Chappell, of Witham, Essex, now (August 1792) in his 82d year. Morant also calls him "the ingenious Mr. Townson." Hist. of Essex, vol. ii. p. 98.

[3] See Delectus Epigramm. l. vii. ii.

And,

And, these compar'd, you will confess this odds,
That Rome had men to found her, Venice gods.

Having been instructed a while by his excellent father, he was placed under the Reverend Henry Nott, vicar of the neighbouring parish of Terling; where he was soon distinguished for quickness of apprehension and a most retentive memory[1]. From Terling he was removed to the free school at Felsted, a seminary of antient repute, where, besides other persons of eminence, Dr. Wallis and Dr. Barrow were educated. It flourished at this time under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, studious alike to cultivate purity of morals and accuracy of learning in his young charge. Mr. Townson's father however, though he confided his son to so worthy a master, did not neglect one precaution; which was, to put into his hands such editions or such copies of Horace and other classics, from which those passages that cannot enter the mind without contaminating it, had been carefully expunged; with an injunction religiously to avoid the danger of perusing them. He remembered with gratitude this parental precept throughout life, and, as occasion served, gave similar advice to others; convinced that the absence of temptation, and ignorance of vice, are among the best preservatives against its contagion.

He was entered a commoner of Christ Church March 13, 1733; and had for his tutor the Reverend John Whitfield, M. A. who afterwards (1738) succeeded the ingenious Mr. Spence as Poetry Professor in the university, and was a man of parts and elegant learning. Here, as at school, Mr. Townson's proficiency was rapid; and his poetical as well as general talents, united with the utmost regularity

[1] From the information of Mr. Chappell, his school-fellow there.

and

and obligingness of manners, soon recommended him to notice and esteem [1]. He had been at college little more than a year when he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his ever honoured father, who deceased in May 1734, and was interred in the chancel of his own church. His widow, an excellent and pious lady, survived him long; and had the happiness of seeing her children prosper in the world. She died the day she completed her 76th year, January 3, 1760.

In July 1735, he was elected Demy of St. Mary Magdalen College, and two years afterwards Fellow of that society, having in the intermediate year (October 20) been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He commenced M. A. June 20, 1739; and was ordained deacon December 20, 1741, and priest September 19, 1742, by Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford.

[1] From the information of the late bishop Smallwell, one of his contemporaries. He has two copies of hexameters, while he was an undergraduate, in the Oxford Gratulations; one on the marriage of the Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange, 1734; the other on the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales, 1736: and a third, when he was B. A. on the death of Queen Caroline. They have merit; but two other copies, extant also in the Oxford collections, which I suspect to be his, (for I find them written in his hand, and dated, one, "61." the other, "Sept. 8, 62.") though they appear under another name, are superior to them in energy and an easy flow of numbers. These however are of much later date; for the first of them is on the nuptials of his present Majesty, 1761, and begins thus:

"Nympha, animum et formam cui sidera læta decusque
Dedere, stirpe digna, digna nuptiis;
Nympha veni," &c.

The other are hexameters on the birth of the Prince of Wales:

"Nasceris, alme puer," &c.

Some verses indubitably Dr. Townson's will occasionally be introduced in the following pages.

Three

Three days after this he set out for France with Mr. Dawkins, in company with Mr. Drake and Mr. Holdsworth. After about eight months they proceeded by way of Marseilles and Toulon to Italy. From Florence Mr. Townson was about to return to England alone; Mr. Dawkins, with whom he traveled, having taken up a resolution to visit Palmyra with Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Wood, who were then in Italy. But Mr. Drake prevailed upon him to accompany him and Mr. Holdsworth during the remainder of the tour. They continued in Italy about a year and half, crossed the Alps by Mount Cenis on their return, passed through Germany and Holland, and landed at Harwich, August 26, 1745. From the minutes of his journal, kept with regularity and marked with intelligence, an agreeable volume might easily have been formed, had he been disposed to attempt it. But of the accuracy of such books of travels as are usually given to the public, from a transient view of a country, he entertained no very favourable opinion: in support of which he occasionally related the following anecdote of his friend and fellow traveler, Mr. Holdsworth. When this gentleman first went into Italy, he composed with some care an account of what he saw. On visiting the same country again, with his former journal in his hand, he altered the narrative, and contracted the substance of it. When he made the same tour a third time, he burnt his papers.

Whilst he was on this classic ground, where every scene revived the memory of some splendid achievement, or introduced him to some illustrious antient, he did not forget his own proper business and profession. When he was at Naples, and twice visited with sympathetic fondness the tomb of his favourite Virgil, he found time nevertheless, with a still more honoured name and sublimer poet, to contemplate the glory of God in the works of creation and in his written

written law: and the result of his meditations appears in a very fine sermon on the nineteenth Psalm, begun while he was in that city.

Mr. Russel, the ingenious author of "Letters from a young Painter abroad," makes honourable mention of Mr. Drake and the two companions of his travels, with whom he was acquainted at Rome, and painted them in "a conversation piece[1]." It is a small unfinished sketch; and the portrait of Mr. Townson, though mildness and sense are charactered in the countenance, never was perhaps a striking likeness[2]: which is the more to be regretted as he would never afterwards, I believe, certainly not in latter life, consent to sit for his picture, though repeatedly solicited by some of his most esteemed and intimate friends.

The following lines, referring to this tour, and written not long after it, may not improperly in this place be laid before the reader. They were sent to Mr. Drake, with Mr. Nelson's Address to Persons of Quality:

[1] In the possession of William Drake, Esq. The family have also a miniature of Mr. Townson, but copied from this, and therefore at double distance from the original. Dean Colet, as some thought, resembled Dr. Townson. See the print in his Life by Knight. But the print of Mr. Gambold (published Dec. 10, 1771, by J. West, from a painting by A. L. Brandt) with some small similitude of feature, gives a better impression of the air and manner of Dr. Townson; in whose looks however a more vigorous intellect was stamped. The shade which I have now (1809) ventured to prefix to these volumes (encouraged to do so by his late highly esteemed and coetaneous friend, Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet) was sketched without his knowledge, by a gentleman, who dined with him the year before his death. It is a striking, but not quite a favourable, likeness. The *fac-simile* of his hand is from one of his last letters to me, Dec. 5, 1791.

[2] The portrait of Mr. Holdsworth, whose features were stronger, is esteemed a better likeness.

O decus,

O decus, O nostrum, cui pectora culta Camœnis
Virtutum sanctis ignibus urit amor!
Tecum oram vidi Tiberinam, ubi Roma tot annos
Tam valida gessit maxima sceptra manu;
Vidi una septem sparsas in collibus urbis
Antiquæ cineres imperiique minas.
Prona solo solidis centum subnixa columnis
Templaque et insana mole theatra jacent.
Inde vides arcus longa pendere ruina,
Ibat ubi aeriam lympha Latina viam;
Hinc magnis marmor positum victoribus ætas
Subruit, & victrix ultima sternit humi.
Et quæ cæruleo se porrigit Appia tractu,
Ipsa suûm mœret busta sepulta ducum.
Ecqua urbs, quæ superet Romanas altior arces,
Major et imperio sanctior ecqua manet?
Pace potens regina, parens pulcherrima, magno
Complexa heroas cœlicolasque sinu;
Cui neque vis ævi turres nec fulmina lædant,
Nec manus æternas barbara vastet opes?
Marmore quæ tacito nulli tegat ossa, perenni
Fonte trahens vitam lætitiamque novam;
Majestas sedeat cui sacri in culmine montis
Suprema, et præsens templa sit ipse Deus?
Huc age, Nelsono duce, nitere fortiter, et me
Nec tardis comitem passibus ire velis:
Qua pia gens nescit metas et tempora rerum,
Hic mihi amicitiam fas sit habere tuam!

On his return from the Continent he resumed in college the arduous and respectable employment of tuition, in which he had been engaged before he went abroad. In this capacity, besides those who were members of the foundation, he had under his care several young men of rank and fortune, and not less distinguished by their abilities. Mr. Lovibond, the admired author of the Tears of Old May Day, and of other elegant poems, was one of his pupils before he traveled; and after he came back Lord Bagot stood in the same relation to him; and at this time was laid the foundation of that entire friendship between

between them, which was interrupted only by that event which dissolves the dearest ties of mortality.

In 1746 his friend Mr. Wyatt resigned the vicarage of Hatfield Peverel in Essex; of which he informed him by letter the same day, adding that "he thought he ought to make application for it to Mr. Dabbs," the patron; "whose friendship it might be well worth his while to cultivate[1]." But on the subject of soliciting for preferment his notions were more rigid than those of his worthy schoolmaster; and I believe he took no step whatsoever in consequence of the advice given with so much zeal and kindness. There was no reason however why an affectionate mother should not voluntarily ask a favour for her son; and the living was given him at her request; in which perhaps she was seconded by Mr. Wyatt, who was the first to acquaint him that it was conferred. He was instituted the 25th of August by that learned and excellent prelate, Bishop Gibson.

He had a high veneration for Mr. Wyatt, maintained a constant friendship with him while he lived, and wrote the following ode upon occasion of his death, January 1749:

O alma Virtus, læta capessere
Veros labores, qua patriæ datur
Prodesse, felicesque vitam
Excoluisse licet per artes;

Te, Diva, sanctum consilium et tuum
Præbente numen, sustinuit diu
Crito juventutis togatæ
Ingenuas animare mentes,

[1] Mr. Wyatt's Letter, May 6, 1746.

Amore

Amore magnæ laudis, et ingeni
Ciere lumen lumine de suo;
Acerba donec mors ab auris
Æthereis rapuit magistrum.

Critona mœrent exanimem boni;
Et ipsa Virtus mœret, et inclitus
Laudum, ille vivus quas amavit,
Quas coluit, chorus. Hæret urnæ

Affixa, mœsto non sine carmine,
Camœna; fletu tum Pietas genam
Humectat; et suspirat altùm
Pectus amicitiæ fidele.

Nor was this the only or last instance of his regard for the memory of Mr. Wyatt. For a few years before he died, finding there was no sepulchral memorial of him, he put up a neat tablet in the church of Little Waltham, where he was interred, having been rector of the parish; with an inscription, which commemorates his "learning, integrity, piety, and charity."

In 1749 he was senior Proctor of the university; and it is remembered of him that in performing the duties of that difficult office he so tempered salutary discipline with just lenity, and so recommended whatever he did by the manner of doing it, that he was universally esteemed and beloved. The Radcliffe Library was opened this year with a speech by the famed orator, Dr. King; and the celebrity, graced with a large and splendid company of the friends of the university, was distinguished also by conferring honorary degrees on the Trustees of Dr. Radcliffe's benefaction. The speech delivered by the senior proctor, upon the expiration of his office, is usually a review of the events of the year; and Mr. Townson on that occasion, in an oration of classical elegance

gance and spirit, speaking of the foregoing memorable occurrence, applauds the graceful eloquence of the orator, and mentions, with much satisfaction and merited praise, two of his friends who received at that time academical honours, Mr. Drake and Mr. Bagot, now Lord Bagot. He also bestows a passing compliment on the poetry professor, Mr. Lowth; which cannot in the present day add to his fame, but, since the life by which learning was advanced and religion adorned is now closed, it may safely be quoted: "Quem de poetica sacra sic ex cathedra explicantem audivimus, ut omnibus ornari rebus videretur, quæ aut naturæ munera sunt, aut instrumenta doctrinæ." This is handsome certainly; but it should be noted as the more candid and honourable in the speaker, not only because Mr. Lowth and he were generally looked up to as the two first scholars in the university [1], a circumstance which in ordinary minds might have created some jealousy; but still more because there had been a design of bringing him forward as a competitor with Mr. Lowth for the poetry professorship. Such competition however his modesty could not suffer; and the learned world will for ever be delighted and improved by the admirable Prælections on Hebrew poetry; a work, which if the correct judgement and taste of Mr. Townson could have equaled in point of manner and style, his more limited knowledge of the language, which is the subject of it, could not have supplied the matter.

This same year (1749) he resigned Hatfield; and was presented to the rectory of Blithfield, in

[1] From the information of the late Henry Homer, M. A. rector of Birdingbury, Warwickshire, one of Dr. Townson's first pupils, a person of strong sense, of amiable manners, and of general worth; who died greatly lamented July 14, 1791, having some time before drawn up a very just character of his revered friend and tutor: which see in Gent. Mag. 1792. p. 587, 588.

Stafford-

Staffordshire, by Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot, Baronet. He was instituted August 29th, by Bishop Smalbrook. It was the custom of this bishop to examine the clergy, who came to him for institution, by solemn interrogatories, partly in English, partly in Latin, on theological subjects: and he was also commendably strict in enforcing the residence of his clergy. But Mr. Townson, who underwent the usual scrutiny, was for the present excused in the article of residence on account of the office, which he now held as proctor in the university.

Soon after he quitted the proctorship he was admitted (June 15) to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the same summer Mr. Drake offered him the lower mediety of Malpas, in the county of Chester. This living, though of considerable value, he felt no small reluctance to accept, as it was so remote from his native county, and from most of his friends; and also because, being incompatible with his fellowship, it would entirely remove him from Oxford, a place which he loved with filial respect and affection. At length however, upon debating the matter seriously with a friend, who among other considerations suggested to him, that as to his fellowship, the relinquishing of which was a main difficulty with him, such a situation was not to be regarded as a settlement for life, but rather as a means to an end, qualifying the possessor for a sphere of greater activity and wider influence; on this view, he determined with God's blessing not to refuse what was so handsomely tendered. He was instituted by Bishop Peploe, January 2, 1751. At the close of the year (December 19) he quitted Oxford, and resigned his fellowship the month following. It was afterwards matter of much satisfaction to him, as it was of sincere joy to the parish, that he did not agree to an exchange for Whitechapel in London, which was once (1756) proposed to him.

He

He divided his time between Malpas and Blithfield, which he held for a few years with his new preferment; and then having resigned it, he inducted (February 23, 1759) his worthy successor the Reverend Walter Bagot, M. A. son of his esteemed friend and patron.

In 1758 a considerable accession of fortune came to him. The Reverend William Barcroft, M. A. rector of Fairsted and vicar of Kelvedon in Essex, was a friend of the family at Much Lees, and had a particular value and esteem for the eldest son. Mr. Barcroft had two sons; but both of them dying before him, he became the only surviving branch of the family, of whom several had been clergymen, and educated, as he was, at Cambridge. He departed this life February 14, 1758, having bequeathed to Mr. Townson, whom he constituted the sole executor of his will[1], his library of books, and the principal part of his fortune, amounting in the whole to more than eight thousand pounds. On receiving this intelligence, he repaired to Kelvedon, and paid with all decency the last offices of respect to his very worthy and generous friend and benefactor.

The lower parsonage at Malpas, when he came into possession of it, was small and incommodious; and the house was separated from the garden by a farm yard and barns. He removed the barns (1760) and threw the site of them into the garden, thus connecting it with the dwelling-house, which he enlarged and altered, and rendered it a very pleasing, compact, and comfortable residence, suitable to the living.

And now having established him at Malpas, his

[1] Prerog. Off. Hutton, 61.

only

only preferment, and the seat of his constant residence, it will be proper to take a view of him in performing the important duties of his station; and for that purpose a short account of the parish appears requisite.

The parish of Malpas, Cheshire, consists of twenty-four hamlets, or, as they are styled in that county palatine, townships; and is, in some directions, about ten miles long. There are two rectors to superintend this ample district; but when, or on what occasion, the partition originated is not known. It has subsisted more than five hundred years; and the portions, from the relative situation of the two parsonages, have, for more than half that length of time, been commonly called the Upper and Lower Rectory or mediety. Advowsons are usually appendant on manors, the original lord of the soil reserving the right of presentation to the preferment which he himself founded; and for the same reason a parish and manor are commonly co-extensive. At Malpas Mr. Drake has three-fourths of the manor, and also of the advowson, being possessed of the entire patronage of the lower rectory, and presenting to the upper alternately with Lord Cholmondeley; who has the title of Viscount from the town, as he has that of Earl from one of the townships in the parish, where the family seat is. The two rectors have each of them a curate, with whose assistance they perform the duty alternately by weeks. There are two sermons on Sunday, prayers twice a week and on holidays, and every day in the week before the sacrament, which is administered on the first Sunday in every month, and at the great festivals. There are two chapels, to one of which the rector or his curate, who is not engaged in the parish-church, goes every Sunday, except on sacrament days, when they all assist at the mother church.

In

In the duties thus apportioned, Dr. Townson always took his full share, as well in the desk as the pulpit; and the service of the church of England is no where performed with greater decency and solemnity, and rubrical exactness. Indeed from the number and order of its clergy, this large and lofty edifice has somewhat of the appearance and consequence of a collegiate church; and as the constitution is highly comfortable, and, in a moral view, advantageous to the ministers themselves, by exciting emulation and giving room for example; so is it, from the diversity of talents wherewith God may have blessed them, peculiarly useful and edifying to their hearers. The honest plainness and authority of one preacher rouses the torpid; the energetic pathos of another bears along with it the soul of sensibility; and the mild persuasive eloquence of a third, profitable to all, has its best effect and influence upon the virtuous and the good. This latter was universally the manner of Dr. Townson. In his looks there was meekness joined with intelligence; in his conversation gentleness, and yet authority; in his whole deportment condescension with dignity. When he read prayers in the congregation, there was a warmth and fervour in his manner, that was at once awful and edifying: his utterance was never rapturous, it was never languid; and a service highly reasonable in itself, wherein human wisdom and evangelical devotion are so happily combined, appeared and was felt from his lips as more strikingly reasonable. When he ascended the pulpit, the same meekness of majesty attended him; every eye was fixed upon him, every ear listened with eagerness. His sermons were various in method and manner, as the subject required or suggested; but what was most peculiar and characteristic in him, were reflections easy and natural, but without the strict form of a studied discourse, on some portion of scripture, on some memorable

morable event, or some distinguished personage, on a psalm, or a parable. A discourse thus constructed was not an abstract dissertation, remote from life and common apprehension; but delineating real events and real characters, which by the observations and arguments of the preacher were brought home to present times, and rendered applicable to all; instruction was thus united with and enforced by example: you saw misery as the sure consequence of sin in all ages; you saw present tranquillity and everlasting peace, by the constitution of things and by divine promise, the attendants and rewards of obedience. When he spoke professedly on points of Christian doctrine, on the blessed sacraments, or the prime festivals, though the form and manner were less removed from the common track, his words, elevated and warmed with the superior grandeur of the subject, were, if possible, still more highly awful and impressive. All his sermons were distinguished by ingenuity; in all there was strong sense conveyed in easy and familiar words; in all of them piety and humility were prominent and conspicuous features. At the same time his elocution, which was clear and well modulated, and his gesture, which was graceful and easy, grave and correct, set off and adorned the matter: there was indeed, especially when time had shed a more venerable lustre on his countenance, the air and dignity of an apostle about him, tempered only and softened by the recollection that he was a man of our own days; easy, unaffected, and affable in private, as he was powerful and commanding when he spoke as a minister of the gospel and ambassador of heaven. You would pledge your soul on his sincerity; you were sure he longed for nothing so fervently as your salvation. Your heart glowed within you; and you went home resolved to love God above all, and your neighbour as yourself.

He greatly admired, from full conviction of its excellence, the Common Prayer of the Church of England. The spirit of devotion, which pervades and animates it, the energy and simplicity of it, are incontestable; but it was his opinion that the prayers, compressed as they are in short collects, or couched in single petitions, were at once well adapted for the family or the closet, and incomparably the best for social and public worship. For though possibly an individual may with equal improvement use a longer form, the words of which he himself utters; yet when numbers join mentally in prayers spoken by one, their attention is less likely to grow weary, or to wander, when assisted by frequent pauses; by alternate petitions, responses, and ejaculations, as in the established liturgy.

Though he lamented the unhappy disputes and philosophical refinements on the scriptural simplicity, which had made it necessary to introduce so much technical phraseology, not merely into works of theological speculation, but of practical devotion, yet he considered the Athanasian creed, where such terms abound, as a very fine composition; in which, with admirable judgement and accuracy, the direct path of evangelical truth is marked out, and, by a language clear and unequivocal, equally secured against opposite errors; against the Sabellian or Swedenbourgian hypothesis, which confounds the persons in the Godhead, and the Arian heresy, which divides the substance and unity of nature in the holy Trinity.

His attention extended to small matters, as well as more important; and there being a difference in the mode of reading the introductory invocations of the Litany, where some persons lay stress on the pronoun (ùs), others on the preposition preceding (upòn), the latter he esteemed the proper way of pronouncing

pronouncing the clause; since the Litany is not a prayer for the congregation exclusively, but, as the rubric explains it, "a general supplication" for all mankind.

He thought a certain decency and solemnity of form were of great use in giving life and effect to religious offices intrinsically excellent. "Order" indeed, in the judgement of the divine Hooker, is that "without which peace could not be in heaven[1];" but it is fit that a religion intended for an inferior and compound being should be adapted to his whole nature, and engage whatever is innocent in him on the side of virtue; so that, while the sentiments have the concurrence of the understanding, and the spirit and energy warm the heart, the exterior circumstances may catch the imagination and influence the passions. Thus the whole man is employed in his best service, and every faculty conspires in paying homage to Him who gave it. Such were his sentiments of whom we are speaking; and in addition to the regular order which he found at Malpas, he himself introduced one custom now observed there, that two of the clergy should officiate on Sundays at the altar. It appeared, he thought, decent and respectful that the Almighty should be well attended at his holy table.

When he had been rector of Malpas some time, a handsome pair of silver chalices were found in the church; and it was afterwards discovered, that he was the donor of them. They are inscribed with this verse: "All things come of thee, O Lord; and of thine own have we given thee." 1 Chron. xxix. 14. He afterwards gave a chalice to the neighbouring church of Harthill, with the same inscription.

[1] Walton's Life of him, ad finem.

But it is time that we attend him in the conduct of his houshold, and the care of his flock. On the former head it may suffice to observe, that it was the house of a truly devout and christian pastor, who summoned all under his roof to morning and evening prayer; and the same sedate and holy fervour, which was so edifying in the church, never failed to animate these less public addresses to heaven. On Sunday evenings one hour was devoted to reading the holy Scriptures in his family with some practical comment[1]; and the instructive lesson began[2] and ended with prayer. At the same time it was a rule with him not to encroach on the duties of this day by writing letters, much less by the too common practice of traveling. It was always, within his walls, a day of peculiar hospitality and equal cheerfulness.

In visiting the sick, a duty to which he was scrupulously attentive, he sometimes availed himself of the liberty which the Canons give[3]; and made apposite alterations in the prayers of the church, or adopted a prayer from a private manual. But in general he adhered strictly to the established forms; selecting, and commonly by memory, from the appointed office and from other parts of the liturgy, what he judged most suitable to the occasion. Pecuniary assistance, if necessary, was at the same time afforded with a liberal hand; and, as circumstances demanded, reproof also or consolation, or instruction, or encouragement was wisely administered, at a season when the mind is usually most susceptible of good impressions. In some instances, if other means of access did not occur, or did not succeed, he privately wrote to persons living in known habits of vice. To imagine that any, or that

[1] Commonly Ostervald; in Passion week Bonnell's Harmony.
[2] Second collect in Advent.
[3] Canon lxvii.

all these methods of reclaiming from wickedness, with whatever wisdom chosen, or whatever vigour pursued, would in all cases produce the desired effect, were to suppose that men were not men: but much good undoubtedly, under the blessing of God, was thus accomplished; and even those, who were too perverse, or too hardened to be reformed by their spiritual guide, still however, such was his known probity, such his suavity of manners, and genuine piety, universally loved and revered him.

Besides distributing copies of the holy Scriptures and books of piety, which now and then were doubly endeared to the receiver by some affectionate inscription of the donor[1], he also took no small care that children especially (of whom he generally kept several at school) should be taught and should use morning and evening prayer; and likewise that they should learn by heart that admirable compendium of Christian morality, the third chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians.

On a special occasion he composed and used the following prayer, by the desire of the sufferer:

"O Almighty and everlasting God, whose blessed Son Jesus Christ did give to his apostles and other

[1] A specimen perhaps may not be unacceptable:

"A present
to Mr. D. B.
from one of those
who promised for him at his baptism,
that he should renounce the works of the devil,
and the sinful lusts of the flesh;
that he should believe all the articles of the Christian faith,
and that he should walk in the commandments of God
all the days of his life.
God grant that these promises
may be faithfully and religiously kept,
for the comfort of Him who made them,
and the happiness of Him
for whom they were made."

ministers

ministers of his word power over unclean spirits, Grant, O Lord, that if any evil spirits have afflicted this thy servant, they may be driven away from him, and be suffered no more to hurt or come near him. Hear, O Lord, our humble supplication in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The hypothesis, on which this proceeds, as he was well aware, though consonant to the sentiments of our best divines, is not the current opinion of the day. But what is unfashionable is not always false. It is thought by some to be in all cases a sufficient proof that nothing beyond natural disease has happened, because, when by medical aid bodily health has been restored, the mind is again perfectly free and tranquil. He esteemed this argument by no means satisfactory. There are persons, who will converse with you coolly and rationally on any subject whatsoever, who yet have occasionally propositions darted into their mind (as they believe and express themselves) as distinct from their own train of thoughts, as if they were pronounced by another person. To allege that the body occasions these things is surely to assign an effect without a cause, or (which is the same thing) without an adequate cause; for it is not, I hope, the body that creates thoughts and forms propositions. To say, again, that the mind itself is the sole agent in the business, is to argue against the consciousness and conviction of that mind; for the person thus molested shall at the same instant be talking with you cheerfully on a subject totally different, shall be reading, or praying. If these momentary interruptions are seldom experienced but when the body is more or less indisposed, and cease when it has regained the full tone and vigour of health, this only shows that a disordered body was the predisposing occasion or organ, but does not prove it to have been the immediate or efficient cause. It will not be denied that there are malignant

malignant beings, who watch every opportunity, and eagerly seize every permitted mode, of assaulting us; and where then is the absurdity of supposing they may be able to harass us, when one part of the machine is disordered, in a different manner or degree, from what is in common cases possible, when the whole moves in perfect harmony? When a wicked monarch was troubled by a more wicked spirit, the melody of the harp composed and refreshed him, and he was well; and his foiled assailant departed from him [1].

In what I have stated, I am assured, I represent facts; and I know, as to the probable cause of those facts, I express His sentiments, whose opinions as well as actions, so far as it is material to record the one or the other, it is my duty to exhibit with all fidelity. We cannot pronounce with certainty what is merely natural disease, what demoniacal possession, and what the occasional molestation of the powers of darkness; for we have not, as one has justly remarked on the subject [2], that miraculous gift, the discerning of spirits; but it is right surely to pray for deliverance from the more extraordinary degrees of temptation or trouble, as well as from those which are less uncommon, provided it be done with a condition expressed, that the case be what to us appears probable: and a better prayer for the purpose will not easily be devised, than that which precedes and occasioned these remarks.

From parochial labours to literary pursuits the transition is easy and natural. About the year 1766, and for some time afterwards, he employed himself

[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

[2] Bishop Newton in his Dissertation on the Demoniacs. See his works, vol. iii. p. 191.

with

with much care and diligence in composing an exposition of the Apocalypse. The work was finished, but never published; and he once mentioned the circumstance to a very worthy friend as an instance of the success of prayer. It was his humble request to God, that if his system were wrong, the work might never see the light; and it so proved, that whenever he thought of revising his papers and preparing them for the press, something still intervened and hindered his design. With regard to the interpretation of the unaccomplished prophecies in this awful book, he remarked, at a later period, having an eye to what he had written on the subject, "I once thought I had it all very clearly before me; but I now suspect we know very little of the matter." He was the more confirmed in this notion when he beheld that unforeseen and marvelous event, the total overthrow of the Gallic constitution; and he dropped a hint, a few days before his death, that if the papal power was to be destroyed by the sword, the French probably were the people who would accomplish its downfal. As to his comment on the Apocalypse, it was suffered to lie quiet in his study, with a direction to be burnt, which he never rescinded.

In the intervals of his application to this learned work, he found leisure to attend to the controversy of the Confessional, which then made some stir in the world. He published, on that occasion, three short pamphlets, but without his name; partly, no doubt, from his native modesty, and still more to avoid, as far as possible, dispute and altercation. The first is intituled, "Doubts concerning the authenticity of the last publication of the Confessional, and the current editions of certain books cited in it: addressed to the Author of that learned work." It is written, as might be conjectured from the title, in a strain of irony, and is a very masterly performance:

formance: in the course of which, he clearly though obliquely proves the charge implied in both his parts, showing the inconsistency of the author with himself in several instances, and the unfairness of his quotations in many more. Dr. Glocester Ridley, in his Letters to the Author of the Confessional, disclaiming any confederacy with the writer of the Doubts, or even knowledge of him, or so much as a guess who he was; adds, "You, however, and your friends, may do well to recollect, that the same genius to which we ascribe the *Batrachomyomachia*, could when he pleased write an *Iliad*[1]."

The Doubts came out in November 1767; and in August 1768 he published "A Defence" of them, "in answer to Occasional Remarks, &c." In this piece he fully establishes all the controverted points against the Remarker, with exception only of a single mistake, where he lost his way in the labyrinth of a long note. To this circumstance, and to his being obliged to go over all his work again, the motto aptly alludes:

Rursus perplexum iter omne revolvens
Fallacis sylvæ. ÆN. ix. 391.

In June 1768 he published, but for other booksellers the better to conceal himself, "A Dialogue between Isaac Walton and Homologistes; in which the character of Bishop Sanderson is defended against the Author of the Confessional." It is superfluous here to mention what the charges were, which the writer in question had brought against Bishop Sanderson; and scarcely necessary to observe, that in the Dialogue he is fully vindicated, in every instance where he had been attacked. The Confessional hath long since had its day; the name of Bishop Sander-

[1] Postscript to third Letter to the Author of the Confessional.

son

son will be dear to posterity while candour, piety, and learning are known and valued.

In September this year, at the earnest request of his friend and patron Mr. Drake, he went abroad with his eldest son, Mr. William Drake, a gentleman commoner of Brasen Nose College. The party was rendered more agreeable by the addition of a third, Henry Maxwell, Esquire, a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, now of Ewshot, Hants. When they were met to set forth, he made one stipulation with his companions, that he should read the service of the church of England to them every Sunday; and it is but justice, as he remarked, to add, that they both very readily consented.

And now, while he is pursuing nearly the same tour with young Mr. Drake, which, as we have seen above, he performed six and twenty years before in company with his Father, it may be proper, on account of some circumstances involved in the transaction, and others connected with it, to mention a person, who about this period became known to him, and was afterwards admitted into his intimate friendship and regard.

The writer of these memoirs was the younger son of one of Dr. Townson's parishioners, a yeoman. At a proper age he was put to the grammar-school in Malpas, with wishes, I believe, rather than any just hopes, of bringing him up for the church. It pleased God that both his parents died: but he continued at school; and his worthy master, the Rev. Mr. Evans, mentioned him to Dr. Townson, who made him presents of books, and frequently assisted and directed his studies. By Dr. Townson's recommendation he was entered at Brasen Nose in 1772; and the same generous hand contributed one half towards his academical expences. In 1778 he

was

was chosen fellow of his college; and his kind friend and benefactor lived to congratulate him on being presented by that Society, March 12, 1792, to the rectory of Middleton Cheney, in Northamptonshire.

Dr. Townson landed at Dover, October 12, 1769, after an absence of "one year and sixteen days, with his two virtuous and good young companions." The journal of his former tour, when he was fresh from Oxford and his classical studies, concludes with a Latin sentence, expressive of gratitude for safety and protection, to the God of all power and all goodness[1]. The second journal ends thus; "Blessed be *his* good Providence who hath protected us during our journey, and brought us back in health and safety to the land of our Nativity!"

On his arrival at Malpas, he was welcomed with rejoicing, which it is equally impossible to describe or forget. The whole parish crowded to see him; and every one that saw him blessed him. His own joy on the occasion, if more serene (as the poet pourtrays the passion, "*tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus*") was not less heart-felt: for indeed he loved his flock with sincere affection: and, upon his return to them, applied himself with new ardour to his pastoral duties and theological studies.

Of these his studies one of the productions was the "Discourses on the four Gospels;" the progress of which we must now trace. The sermon, which opens the subject, "was in substance first preached in the parish church of Blithfield, when Sir Walter Bagot was one of his hearers." This probably was whilst he was rector of Blithfield; but certainly be-

[1] "Deo Opt. Max. gratiæ immortales, cujus providentiâ in patriam incolumes reversi sumus."

fore

fore the year 1768; for on the twentieth of January in that year, this excellent person, "beloved by all who knew him," "with the most edifying contentment and composure, and I may add, desire of the great change, resigned his pious soul into the hands of his God and Saviour." So he speaks of the solemn and affecting scene, at which he was present.

The discourse was laid by, as his manner was, till, the contents being in good measure forgotten, he could read and consider it with a degree of coolness and indifference. It was preached before the university, of which he still continued a member, June 2, 1771. His learned audience desired him to publish what they had heard with so much satisfaction. Such approbation induced him maturely to re-consider the subject; and he threw into an appendix the proofs of certain points, which it had been necessary in the sermon to assume as granted. The matter grew upon him, till the work acquired its present form and size. Having submitted it, at different times, to the perusal and censure of some very learned and judicious friends; he at last, in compliance with their repeated solicitations, gave up the manuscript for publication. It came out in the spring of 1778: but even then, by his own good will, his name would not have appeared; which was given with his acquiescence rather than consent, by his worthy friend and brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Winchester, who superintended the publication.

I forbear to exhibit any abstract or analysis of a work, which is in every one's hands; but it seemed neither uninteresting nor unimportant to give this short history of it; as it shows, what might indeed in part be collected from the book itself, with what caution and attentive patience he proceeded in the arduous

arduous province of Scriptural Criticism. What he aimed at, as he said very truly, was not the polishing of words and sentences, but to send forth his work as conformable to truth, on so sacred a subject, as his care and attention could lead him [1]. With this view he neglected no aid that could be procured from any quarter, remote or near at hand, friendly or hostile; but he used to say, that if he was to write upon any question, he would rather read what had been written against it than for it. Some of the most shining passages in these Discourses, at least some which have most of novelty, and give full content to the reader, incidentally owe their origin to this circumstance. The admirable account of the superscription on the cross [2], completely vindicating it from the objections of Middleton, may be adduced as one instance of this sort. And the reason assigned for the message to the disciples, Matth. xxviii. 7. 10. equally new and satisfactory, in the Discourse on our Lord's Resurrection [3], is another example of the same nature. Thus error defeats itself, and is made to advance the cause which it was designed to overturn.

Another remark, connected with the foregoing, and verified in his practice, was, that it was an useful method in treating a subject to put yourself in the situation of an opponent, and consider as far as possible all that might be objected to your hypothesis or your proofs. Hence the character given of Socrates, which Homer also, as that philosopher observed, ascribes to Ulysses, "that he was a *safe* speaker [4]," may with great justice be applied to him. It would be difficult to name a work, abounding like this in variety of matter, that is so little liable

[1] Letter to John Loveday, Esquire, Nov. 25, 1772.
[2] Disc. vi. sect. ii. 4.
[3] P. 121—123.
[4] Xen. Mem. l. iv. vi. § 15. Odyss. l. ix. 171.

to

to just exceptions[1], and carries such full conviction to the mind of an impartial reader, on points where, from the very nature of the subject, probability in different degrees, not absolute certainty, must be the result of the inquiry.

As to himself, what afforded him principal content, in the course of his researches, and upon the final issue of them, was, to find that the internal evidence all along confirmed external testimony; that the Gospels were published in the same order in which they now stand; and that each of them was written with that special view and design, which the early fathers and the tradition of the church respectively assign to them.

Of the presents which he bestowed of this work, those to his two colleges were distinguished by notes inscribed in them "from the author," which merit preservation. One was, "for the library of St.

[1] The Reviewers objected to the account of the Transfiguration (Disc. i. p. 8. 4to. ed. p. 10. 8vo.) thinking it improbable that the apostles should sleep, as it is there stated, during the display of such majesty and glory. But had they consulted the Gospels, or attended properly to the passage which they criticised, they would have seen, that the only point for conjecture was, what might be the *cause* of their sleep; for that they did sleep, during some part of the time, is an attested fact: Luke ix. 32. It appears, but is not generally observed, that our blessed Lord was on the mountain a whole night (Luke ix 37.) but whether the transfiguration was in the day, or during the night, or partly in both, we are not informed. Our Lord went up into the mountain "to pray" (Luke ix. 28.) and I think in every instance recorded of his private prayer (of which sort was this with his three confidential disciples) where the time is mentioned or can be collected, it was by night. His prayer in the garden with these same three disciples (Matth. xxvi. 37, &c.) will instantly occur. See also Matth. xiv. 23—25. Mark i. 35. Luke vi. 12. So that, in the literal sense, it might be said, He "worked the work of him that sent him while it was day;" and took from "the night, when no man can work," hours of prayer for strength to perform it. John ix. 4.

Mary

Mary Magdalen College; in grateful remembrance of the advantages he received, and of the happiness he enjoyed, while a member of the college founded by the munificent and venerable William of Wainfleet: to which, as in duty bound, he devoutly wishes perpetual prosperity, temporal, literary, and religious." The other was, "for the library of Christ Church; in which college he had the happiness of beginning his academical studies; and to which he gratefully wishes perpetual prosperity, under a succession of Deans as worthy to preside as the present:" a just compliment to his learned and excellent friend Dr. Bagot, at that time Dean of Christ Church, afterwards the exemplary Bishop of St. Asaph.

The various letters which he received in consequence of this publication, though highly honourable to the author and the work, it would be tedious to mention. Perhaps, however, a single exception ought to be made. His friend, Bishop Lowth, to whom he gave a copy, after reading it through, delivers this opinion of it: "that it is a Capital Performance, and sets every part of the Subject it treats of in a more clear and convincing light, than it ever appeared in before[1]."

But he received testimony to the merit of his book, on which he set a higher value than on the commendation of any individual, however exalted in character, or dignified by station. This was the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, which "was with perfect unanimity conferred on him[2]," in full

[1] Letter to the author, March 21, 1778.

[2] The Vice-Chancellor's letter with the diploma; which is in these terms:

"Cancellarius &c. Cum nihil nobis sit antiquius quam ut academiæ nostræ alumni pietatis et eruditionis omnium ubique judicio præcellentes a nobis etiam peculiari quadam honoris tessera

convocation, by the university of Oxford, February 23, 1779. His sense of this honour he expressed in the following letter to Dr. Horne, then Vice-Chancellor, afterwards the worthy bishop of Norwich:

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Last post, March the 2d, I received the favour of your letter, in which you are so kind as to acquaint me that the degree of D. D. by diploma has been conferred on me by the Convocation.

No testimony can be given to any one's labours more valuable than the suffrage of the University of Oxford. But my pretensions are so far exceeded by the honour which has been done me, I must consider this honour as designed by the University not to distinguish one, but to encourage all to the study of useful learning, and especially of the holy Scriptures, when they see how well-meant endeavours are rewarded in the first among the seats of literature.

Be pleased, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to accept, and to testify to the Heads of Colleges and the Convocation, my most grateful acknowledgements, and to express for me my ardent wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the University; which, from my first admission into it, I have constantly loved and re-

serâ insigniti publicam virtutum commendationem consequantur; cumque vir reverendus Thomas Townson, S. T. B. Collegii Magdalenæ olim socius, largas ingenii et doctrinæ copias, quibus unice instructus est, in sacris literis explicandis feliciter intenderit, beatorum Evangelistarum scripta illustrando, singulorum mentem et consilia aperiendo, omnium fidem et harmoniam exponendo pia plaudentibus undique eruditis studia promoverit—Nos igitur" &c. In gratitude for this distinguished honour, the second edition of the Discourses on the Gospels 1788, was inscribed to the University of Oxford, the first having had no dedication or inscription whatsoever.

spected,

spected, and to which I have now motives of stronger attachment, if possible, than ever.

I am,

Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

With the highest regard,

Your and the University's

Most obliged,

And most obedient humble servant,

T. TOWNSON."

March 5, 1779.

Bringing into one view the account of this work, we have passed by an event, which, in point of time, should have been introduced sooner. This was the death of his sister, Mrs. Winchester, January 26, 1772. This lady, strongly resembling her brother in countenance, was so like him also in the features of her mind and in all that is good, that an attempt to do justice to the merits of the one, ought not to be silent to the worth of the other; and I am happy that I can speak of her in words much better than my own. The late John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham, near Reading, and the Rev. Thomas Bagshaw, Chaplain of Bromley College, Kent, two highly esteemed friends of Dr. Townson, thus speak of Mrs. Winchester; the former in a letter on the occasion of her death, the latter in a sepulchral elogium:

"The Christian heroism of the deceased was beyond expression; so resigned, so much mistress of herself, so thoughtful for her friends, and so considerate upon what was proper to be done upon an event's taking place, that her soul longed for. Be consoled, good Mr. Townson, she was ripe for heaven; a fairer character is not on earth: it is no small honour to have been *related* to her; some (I would hope) to have been *acquainted* with her; but a con-

demnation not to have been the better for such acquaintance[1]."

" Skilled in all accomplishments for social intercourse,
in all the liberal employments of domestic privacy,
the delight of thy acquaintance, and comfort of the poor,
what could enable thee so meekly to bear
the reverse of these enjoyments, unactive sickness;
to view death approaching without complaint or dismay;
to sustain thyself so nobly in the last adieus to thy friends,
and conquer for a time thy native meltingness of heart;
but an heavenly assistance,
and unshaken hope in the merits of thy Redeemer?"

The loss of such a person, deeply lamented by all who knew her, was peculiarly afflictive to her surviving husband. But his sorrow was the sorrow of a Christian; and though he never spoke or thought of the deceased but with emotions of tenderness, resignation to the will of God gradually restored his native cheerfulness. After some years he was happy in a second marriage; but earthly happiness is of short duration! To the lasting regret of all who knew him, he was taken off by a paralytic stroke, May 17, 1780. He was the author of a Dissertation on the xviith Article of the Church of England[2]; in which, from the writings of those who compiled our Articles, it is clearly and unanswerably proved, that they were not Calvinists. No one was better

[1] Letter to Dr. Townson, Feb. 1, 1772.

[2] The full title is, "A Dissertation on the xviith Article of the Church of England: wherein the sentiments of the Compilers, and other contemporary Reformers, on the subject of the Divine Decrees, are fully deduced from their own writings. To which is subjoined, a short Tract ascertaining the reign and time in which the Royal Declaration before the xxxix Articles was first published. Oxford 1773." 8vo. It was reprinted for Messrs. Rivington in 1803, with a short account of the Author prefixed to it, and forms the second number of the Churchman's Remembrancer.

qualified

qualified to do this than Dr. Winchester; for no one was more accurately versed in the history of the Church of England; no one was, from principle and conviction, more firmly and zealously attached to it; and few have equally adorned it by the lustre of example. Let me be forgiven in paying this slight tribute, not unconnected with the more immediate object of this narrative, to the memory of one, to whose generous friendship and instructive conversation I owe some of the happiest hours of my life.

The Discourses on the Gospels were scarcely published, when some cavils respecting one of the evangelists, and an attack made upon Mr. West's book on our Lord's Resurrection, put him on considering the part of the Gospels which relates to that subject; and he sketched out a harmony of them, which he "conceited[1]" (to use his own modest expression on the occasion) was simpler and clearer than Mr. West's, and accorded better with the literal sense of the several evangelists, than that or any other which he had the opportunity of consulting. When he had his plan before him, it was quickly committed to paper; and quickly also deposited in his desk, to lie quietly by for a season. And there at present we must leave it; for this is the work, which is to engage, at intervals, his best thought and pains for the remainder of his life.

The following little poem, composed about the same time that he was planning the harmony of the resurrection, may not unfitly be introduced here. It is a translation of the Mundus Archetypus of Boethius[2]:

[1] Letter to Mr. Loveday, April 20, 1778.

[2] See Boethius De Consol. l. iii. metr. ix. Delectus Epigramm. l. vi. lxxxviii. Harris's Hermes, p. 312. 361. Arrangem. p. 277. Boswell's Life of Johnson, i. 118. Rambler, No. 7.

" O Thou, whose power and wisdom still uphold
This universe, which thou alone couldst mould,
Who, fixt thyself, bidst time from ages roll,
And motion be, and animate the whole;
Urg'd by no outward causes to forsake
Thy blissful solitude, and worlds to make,
But pure adorable benevolence,
Good through full orbs of being to dispense;
Thou from thyself this beauteous frame hast wrought
The just resemblance of the fairest thought;
Thou bidst the warring elements conspire,
Of water, earth, and air, and purer fire;
And cold and hot, and moist and dry, contend
Harmonious to promote the gen'ral end.
Raise, Father, raise to thee my mind, replete
With strength to ken the glories of thy seat;
Light of the just and joy! my clouded eye
Irradiate, and my earthly purify.
Wisdom from thee begins, in thee must rest;
Our pilot, gale, and course, and haven blest."

In the summer of 1778, Dr. Porteus, bishop of Chester, held his primary visitation in the cathedral of his see, and Dr. Townson, by his lordship's desire, preached on the occasion. He was requested by his diocesan to publish the sermon; and the request of a lawful superior carrying with it, in his construction, a positive duty, it was published, as he expresses it, " in obedience to his lordship's command." Whether it were command or intreaty, those who read the discourse, and " observe the many marks of sagacity and judgement, which are interspersed throughout it, will," no doubt, as his Lordship "assured himself, think themselves obliged to him, for following the writer up close, and not suffering his modesty to stand in the way of public utility [1]." By a similar act of violence, but without equal authority, those who had the care of the se-

[1] Bishop of Chester's letter to Dr. Townson, Jan. 8, 1779.

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cond edition of the work on the Gospels added this sermon to it, as being, in their judgement, a proper appendix; and one of them affixed, with the author's approbation, the title it bears, "The manner of our Saviour's teaching."

Two years after this the Archdeaconry of Richmond became vacant by the death of Dr. Peploe; and the same worthy bishop offered it to Dr. Townson; or, to speak more exactly, he pressed him to accept it, with so much civil earnestness, when he was under his lordship's own roof, that he could not refuse it. The following is the letter of thanks which he wrote shortly afterwards:

"My dear Lord,

Though the honour, which your Lurdship has conferred upon me, was far from my thoughts and ambition, when I paid my last visit to the palace; yet I cannot but prize it highly as a mark of your esteem, and think of the very kind manner of bestowing it with great pleasure and gratitude.

If I hesitated to pass the line of a mere parish priest, no wonder that the zeal and abilities of my Diocesan in promoting the welfare of his diocese, made me doubtful of myself, whether I could answer his reasonable expectations in the character of an archdeacon. My doubts still hang upon me, in part perhaps a constitutional infirmity; and the best antidote that I find against them is the encouragement which your lordship has given me to proceed." * * *

Oct. 26, 1781.

The archdeacon of Richmond has a stall in the cathedral at Chester, and his portion in the duties of the

the church; but in other respects he has really no authority or charge belonging to him; for the bishop is himself, in effect, archdeacon both of Chester and Richmond; the endowments of which two archdeaconries constitute the principal revenue of the see. The bishop however, laudably solicitous for the good of his diocese, and "having perfect confidence in the abilities and circumspection[1]" of his archdeacon, gave him a special commission, April 25, 1782, to visit the five northern deaneries within the archdeaconry of Richmond, the most distant part of the diocese. The object of this visitation was to inspect and inquire into the state and condition of all the churches, chapels, and parsonage-houses; and to inquire also into the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices or cures. It was designed by his lordship as a prelude to his own intended visitation the following year; that, being previously certified of the condition and circumstances of those remote parts, if regulations were necessary, they might with better effect be supplied. In the execution of this commission, he rode, by his own computation, being then almost seventy years of age, 572 miles; on which occasion, his intimate and much respected friend, the Rev. Rowland Chambre, rector of Thornton le Moors, voluntarily accompanied him, in the capacity of Secretary, as he pleasantly styled himself. From the information obtained in this journey, he composed a very elegant and methodical book or register; which exhibits a full and distinct view of each parish and chapelry, under the several heads pointed out for his examination. But of this, as being of a private nature for the use of the see, nothing further needs be said. One circumstance, more generally interesting, deserves to be known; and I give it in his own words: "The Queen's bounty has proved a great blessing to the northern part of this diocese.

[1] Words of the commission.

There

There were chapels endowed with not more than forty, and some with but twenty, shillings a year; in which, when any duty was done, it was performed by a layman, perhaps very illiterate. But by the help of the bounty, aided by some contributions, they are now able to support regularly ordained ministers, who are generally of irreproachable lives and characters; and not without a competent share of knowledge; and some of them are really learned, though few of them have seen an university. As they live in a cheap country, at a distance from the great world and its ambitious views, they appear contented and happy [1]."

His sight, owing in great measure to intense study in the earlier part of life, was rather feeble, and would not always bear the fatigue of long application. On these occasions poetry was one of his amusements; and it was probably in the autumn of this year that the following stanzas were produced. The subject and the measure seem to have been suggested by a translation of the same beautiful Greek ode, the first it is said that ever appeared in our language, which was inserted in the St. James's Chronicle, August 27, 1782. The poem has been translated into Latin by Grotius and others; but perhaps never had more justice done it than here. The elegant poetess, we are told, died at the age of nineteen:

ERINNA'S ODE ON ROME [2].

Hail Rome, from mighty Mars by birth,
Dread Queen with crown of radiance pure!
Whose seat Olympus is on earth,
Sacred, secure.

[1] Letter to Mr. Loveday, Oct. 14, 1782.

[2] See the original in Poetriar. octo Fragm. Hamb. 1734. ed. Wolf. 4to. p. 14. Elegiaca Gr. ed. Chandler, Oxon. 1759, p. 84.

The

The Fates consign to thee alone
Fixt power, renown, and empire wide;
And bid thee, on exalted throne,
Peerless preside.

Thou hold'st alone, with firm command,
The reins of earth and hoary sea:
The nations, guided by thy hand,
Are safe in thee.

Time, that confounds the works and pride
Of mortal life, still swells the sails,
That bear thy rule along his tide
With prosp'rous gales.

Thy stem the first of warriors yields:
The first of men thy sons arise,
Thick as her fruits, in golden fields,
Glad Ceres eyes.

The next year he received the following letter, which requires no introductory comment:

"Lower Grosvenor Street, Aug. 11, 1783.

SIR,

Although I recollect our former acquaintance with great pleasure, it is not on account of that acquaintance, nor of your long and intimate connexion with those whom I shall ever love and esteem, that I trouble you with this letter. Upon the death of Doctor Wheeler, the King commanded me to look out for a proper successor; by which words his Majesty understood some person confessedly well-qualified for the Divinity Chair, whose promotion should be acceptable to the Public at large, and, particularly, to the University of Oxford. I have since endeavoured to execute His Majesty's commands, and, after the most minute inquiries, I can not find any person in the kingdom who corresponds so exactly to his

his Majesty's definition of a Divinity Professor, as Dr. Townson; a gentleman, whose character is universally beloved and esteemed, and whose general learning, and particular knowledge in Theology has been acknowledged in the most distinguished manner by the University, where the Professorship is now vacant. You will, therefore, I hope, give me an opportunity of acquiring credit to myself, of promoting theological knowledge, and of giving satisfaction to the Public and to His Majesty, by accepting a situation, which by the public testimony of the University of Oxford, and by the general consent of all who are acquainted with you, you are the properest person in England to fill. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

NORTH."

He returned the following answer:

"Malpas, Cheshire, Aug. 16, 1783.

My Lord,

It is hardly possible for me to express the sense I have of your Lordship's goodness to me, and of the honour your Lordship has done me, in thinking of me for the vacant divinity professorship. But I am now so far in the decline of life, that I am very apprehensive, or rather satisfied, that I am not equal to the exertions, which a faithful discharge of the duties of that office would require. Regard therefore for your Lordship's credit, and the good of the university, both which I am highly bound to consult, as well as the peace of my own mind, lays me under a necessity of intreating your Lordship, that, with that goodness, with which you have offered me this preferment, your Lordship will permit me to decline it.

It

It is a most pleasing consideration to me, that a Place which I have the strongest reasons to value and esteem, is under the protection of a nobleman so studious, as well as able, to promote its welfare, and to second His Majesty's royal care for his University, as a seat of religion and literature. I hope and trust it can without difficulty supply a person more in the vigour of his age, and every way qualified to answer His Majesty's and your Lordship's expectations in this charge and dignity.

Lord Bagot has promised to call here in a day or two, on his way into Wales. But I could not think of delaying a moment to make my acknowledgements to your Lordship. Nor indeed did I wish to have any personal conference with Him, till the matter was decided [1]. I am already sufficiently dis-

[1] From this passage, and an allusion in the preceding letter, I had some doubts whether Lord Bagot might not, without Dr. Townson's knowledge, have applied to his friend Lord North on this occasion. But in answer to my inquiries on that head, I am favoured by his Lordship with the following account, which it would be injustice to all parties to withhold from the reader: "I think it will be for the credit of my dear friend the late Earl of Guilford, to recollect, as far as my memory will serve me, and mention to you, all the circumstances I know relative to the Divinity Professorship. Lord Guilford was at Oxford at the same time I was, and at that time became first acquainted with Dr. Townson. He has met him since more than once here, and after he became Prime Minister: and always had the regard for him that his Goodness and Abilities so highly deserved. I may, for aught I know, have said frequently in Lord Guilford's hearing, that I wished to see Dr. Townson upon the Bench; but I am very certain I never applied for any specific preferment for him; and so far from having written in his behalf on this occasion, the first knowledge I had of the Professorship being vacant was from the Doctor himself, to inform me of all that had passed betwixt him and the Minister, and that he had absolutely refused to accept it; that the reason of his not having given me earlier intelligence of the business, was, the fear of my being urgent with him to accept so great and honourable an offer, and that he had taken his resolution. I mention this thus fully, as I think it

tressed with the thought that I must thus answer an offer made me in such a manner, and in such terms; happy only in this, that your Lordship retains a remembrance of our former acquaintance, and is pleased to notice it.

I am, my Lord,
With the utmost gratitude and respect,
Your Lordship's most obliged,
And faithful humble servant,
T. TOWNSON."

Such was his unaffected diffidence, and so great his deference to those he conversed with, that his friend Mr. Falconer, an acute observer of character, in an early stage of their acquaintance used to remark, "the only way to get at Dr. Townson's sentiments on any subject, is to state your own sense of the matter first; and then, prefacing his words with 'what you say is very ingenious; perhaps I am wrong; but I used to view the point in such a light;' he will give an opinion which is so much better, that your's vanishes in a moment." It is certain, he never obtruded his notions upon any one; and whenever he saw occasion to give advice, especially if it were respecting forms and circumstances and the minute but pleasing decencies of life, it was much oftener done by a hint or allusion[1], or some apposite

it equally creditable to them both. The Doctor was indebted purely to his own merit for the offer, and I know how happy the Earl of Guilford was in having an opportunity of making it, and how desirous that it should have been accepted. From the moment he became Chancellor of Oxford, I verily believe his sole object was to prefer in the University the best men, and such as were most likely to be the ablest defenders of the Church of England, of which he himself, to his dying day, was a most sincere friend, and most powerful support, in times when such support was most wanted. * * *

BLITHFIELD, Jan. 30, 1793." BAGOT."

[1] I am tempted to give a single instance of this indirect mode of instruction. When I was a boy, just beginning to have some notion

anecdote (of which no one had greater store, or introduced them with happier propriety) than by direct recommendation of what he approved, or positive censure of petty enormities. There were, however, persons and times when even with regard to these minor virtues, the decorums rather than the duties of life, watching the *mollia fandi tempora*, of which he was an admirable judge, he declared himself without any restraint or reserve. A single instance will show his manner. We were walking, as we often did, in his room, and conversing freely together, when he stopped short, and raising himself up (for his head generally inclined a little forwards) he said, with a smile of ineffable sweetness, "Are you in high good humour?" "Tolerably so, I hope." "Then I'll tell you of a little fault you committed in the company where we have just been." "Was it speaking of a certain person with severity?" "No; I had not observed that; but you did so and so." They must be adamant who are not benefited by such reproof.

The attention of the reading and literary world, about this time (1783, &c.) was occupied by the controversy between Dr. Priestley and the Archdeacon of St. Alban's. Dr. Townson sent to the Archdeacon some remarks on his opponent's letters; to which he prefixed the following note, but, with his usual modesty, concealing his name:

"These few strictures on Dr. Priestley's letters are transmitted to Dr. Horsley, not to inform him of any thing he did not know, or what could otherwise es-

notion of Latin verse, he gave me the "*disjecta membra*" of the following distich to put in order; which I mention the rather, as I presume the lines were his own, composed on the occasion:

Excute desidiam, nec vitæ incumbe priori;
Ni nova succurrit, pristina fama perit.

cape

cape him, but merely to take an opportunity, which the writer of them has long wished for, of returning his sincerest thanks to Dr. Horsley, for his excellent charge: which he and many others have read with infinite satisfaction.

They join in hoping, that the Doctor, though he has to deal with one, *cui non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris*, yet, for the sake of the Christian church in general, will again exert the abilities and learning with which he is blest, in contending for the faith, which was once delivered unto the saints."

March 2, 1784.

These strictures were printed in the Appendix of Dr. Horsley's Letters to Dr. Priestley, published in 1784, but unfortunately with one or two typographical mistakes that affect the sense. It may be proper therefore here to correct them [1].

Of his classical criticisms, which sometimes enriched the Gentleman's Magazine[2], and more frequently adorned his correspondence, or illumed his

[1] App. No. iii. p. 184. l. 21. read "might St. *Matthew* ask." p. 185. l. 2. read "consist *well, on* Dr. P.'s plan, with what." Ib. l. 6. read "alios *ita* loquentes." Correct the same mistakes in Bishop Horsley's "Tracts," &c. Glocester, 1789. p. 304. lines 3. 20. 23, 24.

[2] The following papers, and perhaps a few others, in the Gent. Mag. are by Dr. Townson: 1771. p. 20. Parallel between the Author of the Confessional and a patriotic Alderman, (where, col. i, read, "In the cause of these, two heroes have taken the field.") 1775. p. 361—363. On Brydone's Account of Ætna. 1776. p. 111. Doctrines and Ceremonies different things. p. 170. On Dr. Price's Civil Liberty. 1778. p. 124, 125. On Matth. xxviii. 5. p. 171, 172. On the same. 1783. p. 412. Introduction to the Account of Mr. Naylor's Apparition. 1786. p. 284. Defence of Virgil, against Mr. Heron. 1789. p. 216. Pascal and Priestley contrasted. p. 884. Query about the meaning of Ἰδιωτης, which some one, not perceiving the writer's humour, answered gravely. p. 1099.

conversation

conversation with his learned friends, I shall submit one example to the judgment of the intelligent reader as it regards an interesting passage:

"There is an epigram of Martial, which, as critics in general allow, relates to the Christians. It alludes to the persecution in which the humanity of Nero, to speak of him in Mr. Gibbon's words, caused them to be wrapt in pitched tunics or shirts, and burnt by way of torches. The epigram is this:

'In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis;
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunica præsente molesta,
Ure manum; plus est dicere, Non facio'.'

Having read this epigram more than once without being able to construe the two last lines, though the drift of them is intelligible, I consulted Dr. Lardner's Collection of Testimonies, where I found it thus translated, vol. I. p. 355: 'You have perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless dotard. For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, to say, I do not sacrifice, than to obey the command, burn the hand.'

The Doctor, not quite satisfied with his version of the conclusion, which indeed is rather a paraphrase, gives another: 'For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with a troublesome coat, you are commanded to burn your hand, to say, I will not.' This is more literal, but does not remove the

[1] Lib. x. xxv. Delect. Epigr. l. iv. lviii. Conf. l. viii. xxx. l. i. xxii. Delect. Epigr. l. iv. xxiv. l. i. xiii.

difficulty;

difficulty; for the alternative proposed to the Christian, was not, Either burn your hand, or burn in this shirt; but, Either burn some incense, to the statue of the Emperor perhaps, or burn in this shirt.

In spite therefore of all the editions of Martial that I have seen, I have no doubt that he wrote, instead of 'Ure manum,' as we now read, 'Ure manu,' Ure aliquid thuris manu, and escape this dreadful punishment. According to which the words may be rendered, 'When you are told, the pitched shirt being placed before you, you must either burn in this shirt, or offer a little incense with your own hand, it is a greater instance of fortitude to say, I will not do it, than even to burn off that hand.'

The last words, 'Non facio,' are not easily translated. They mean not only, I will not do it, but, I will not sacrifice. For so Facio sometimes signifies; as in Virgil:

Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus. ECL. iii. 77."

But criticisms on the sacred text better suit the occasion and object of these pages; and I shall therefore bring forward a larger selection of them; yet, with one obvious but necessary caution. Of the remarks to be produced, some were submitted to the absolute discretion and use of the persons to whom they were given; but none of them, doubtless, were designed by the writer to meet the public eye in their present shape, short and detached as they are; neither had he weighed them, probably, with all that care, which he employed on sacred subjects before he ventured to print his thoughts. The reader therefore will estimate these fragments by their own evidence and probability. Sir Isaac Newton subjoined to one of his great works certain speculations in the form of queries; which are regarded by philosophers

losophers as highly curious and valuable, although his vast mind was not fully contented with them. In a modest distrust of himself, in laborious investigation, and patient thinking, Dr. Townson resembled the immortal Newton; and if these brief disquisitions did not always receive his full consideration and entire acquiescence, they will yet, many of them, no doubt, be found perfectly just, and all of them worthy of attention. With this apology and caution I proceed; and shall dispose the papers not in chronological sequence as they were written, but, as seems more convenient, in the order of the Scriptures to which they refer.

ISAIAH.

"At this season (Advent,) the course of the lessons has disposed me to read Bishop Lowth's Isaiah again. The more I consider it, the more it strikes me as a noble work[1]. The version and illustration of

[1] I have reserved for this place what he had before said respecting this work, in a letter to the author, dated Nov. 27, 1778.

"My Lord,

The book which your Lordship has been so kind as to send me, is a return indeed for such a performance as mine (see above p. xxxv.) I have just had time to go once over it; and have read it with infinite satisfaction: both because I can comprehend the meaning and spirit of Isaiah much better than before; and because it is a work, as far as I can judge, altogether worthy of its Author's character and writings. To find out, and to prove, that the prophets wrote in verse, and to show the important uses of this discovery, was reserved for your Lordship. This is a subject,

'Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora musæ.'

Literal as the translation is, there is not only great energy and elegance, but to my ear great harmony in it. The prophecy concerning Babylon, I am persuaded, has never had such justice done it as by your Lordship's hand, in a noble Latin ode, and by admirable observations now given upon it. But this is a single instance out of a multitude of passages explained in a masterly manner

chapter xlix. I admire particularly. I send you a little criticism, which is not worth returning. When you have read it, you may throw it into the fire. The bishop on Isaiah vii. 15. adopts his learned friend Dr. Jubb's interpretation:

'Butter and honey shall he eat When he shall know to refuse what is evil, and choose what is good.'

But it may be questioned whether the Bishop's father had not given as good a version, the same as Bishop Chandler's:

'Butter and honey shall he eat Till he shall know, &c.'

Dr. Jubb thinks Till makes ver. 15. incoherent and inconsistent with ver. 16; which I confess I do not see, as Mr. Lowth and Bishop Chandler state the matter to this purport:

"The distress brought upon the land by its invaders shall not be so great, nor so durable, but that the child shall have sufficient plenty of the delicacies usually given to children: For (the prophet adds) before he shall be out of his childhood, both the invaders of the land shall be destroyed."

manner, and beautifully illustrated. To my grateful acknowledgements for this little-deserved favour, let me have leave to add my devout wishes, that it may please God to support your Lordship with his consolations under the heavy loss of an excellent Son; and to bless you with a continuance of health and spirits, for the credit and benefit of our Church, and the furtherance of His religion.

I am, my Lord,
With the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obliged,
And faithful humble servant,
T. TOWNSON."

And this appears to suit best with the drift of the prophecy, which is to promise speedy relief, before the child arrived at a certain state of knowledge (Comp. viii. 4.); not a long continuance of security, When, or, After he arrived at that state. For the prophet having assured the people of Judah, that God would deliver them from the danger then hanging over them, assures them of no more; but changes his style instantly, ver. 17, to denunciations of heavy judgements that would overtake them for their sins, by means of more powerful invaders.

I have said this on a supposition that כי must signify For. But Stockius in his Lexicon, referring to this very place, renders it Quin imo: and the Bishop translates it Yea, xv. 5. and Yea verily, xxviii. 11.

And possibly this sense might agree very well with the place before us [1]."

He afterwards (June 4, 1781) remarked to the same correspondent, that Mr. Postlethwaite, in his Discourse on this passage, was pretty severe on Bishop Lowth: "but (he added) in my humble opinion, Mr. Lowth's version, 'Until he shall know,' is preferable to either; for this intimating, that the Virgin's infant son should be nourished and fed as other infants were, carries on the prediction more explicitly, that Immanuel should really take our nature upon him. In other respects, I cannot but think that Mr. Postlethwaite has maintained the clearest and most satisfactory explication of this important passage. *A child* instead of *The child* is the sense of Stockius: Puer aliquis. See under the letter *He*, p. 244."

[1] Letter to Mr. Loveday, Dec. 22, 1780.

GENEA-

GENEALOGY OF OUR LORD.

"As to the genealogy of our blessed Lord, I have, I confess, never studied the matter accurately, nor can at present turn my mind to the subject. I can only give you a few loose hints on it, that perhaps may be but of little consequence.

The genealogy seems a transcript from some public record to the end of ver. 16, delivered to St. Matthew, and not drawn up by himself; for in his own person he would not have concluded this part with saying, 'Of whom was born Jesus, who is *called* Christ.' What follows, I presume, is his own. But you observe, he only says of the first fourteen, that they are *all*. Some hints are given, Discourses, p. 121, 8vo. about the reason of this division, but whether worth consulting I know not: nor can I pretend to give a just account of it. Three times fourteen, you know, make the mystical number of forty-two occurring in the Revelation; but if there is a mystery in the number in St. Matthew, I do not presume to dive into it. Reasons have been given for the omission of three kings, that appear to me rather refined than satisfactory.

If St. Luke gives the natural, and St. Matthew the civil or political, if I may so call it, genealogy of our Lord, I believe it is not without example in profane history. I think Mr. Falconer [1] has told me,

[1] I shall be pardoned, I trust, if in grateful remembrance of one of the kindest of friends, I take this opportunity to lay before the reader the elegant and just epitaph, inscribed to the memory of Mr. Falconer, by his only surviving brother and heir, William Falconer, M. D. of Bath, well known by many learned works in his own profession and other branches of literature.

M. S.
THOMÆ FALCONER Armigeri
Filii natu maximi GVLIELMI FALCONER Arm.

that the pedigree of Leonidas the Spartan differs in Herodotus and Pausanias, without mistake in either; the first giving his real descent, the other the line of kings that preceded him.

Whatever comparison David Levi may make between the miracles of Moses and Christ, there is, if I mistake not, this remarkable difference between them, that Moses acts in every instance by special command, and as a mere instrument of the Al-

qui per plures annos officium Proprætoris hujus Vrbis
gerebat, et ELIZÆ filiæ RANVLPHI WILBRAHAM de
TOWNSEND,
in Comitatu Cestriæ Armigeri Conjugis ejus.
Vir fuit Literarum elegantiis et morum comitate egregie ornatus,
Memoria præditus vix credibili, et Industria
quæ nec labori, nec ægritudini diuturnæ succubuit.
Maxima autem laus est,
quod Benevolentia, vitæ Integritate, et erga Deum Pietate,
nemini fuit impar.
Obiit 4to die Septembris, A. D. 1792. Ætatis suæ LVI.
Vale,
Vir summe!
Pietatis pariter ac Literarum Exemplar,
Vale!
Frater tui amantissimus hocce exiguum quamvis
Cenotaphium Virtutibus tuis sacrum
Posuit.

Mr. Falconer was buried in St. Michael's church, within the city of Chester, where he died; but the preceding epitaph is inscribed on a tablet of white marble near the monument of his father, in St. John's church in that city, in which parish he resided till within a few years of his death. He was the author of "Devotions for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with an Appendix containing a Method of digesting the Book of Psalms, so as to be applicable to the common Occurrences of Life, by a Layman:" which has gone through several impressions. "Observations on Pliny's Account of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus," printed in the Archæologia, vol. xi. No. i. "Chronological Tables from the Reign of Solomon to the Death of Alexander the Great," printed at the Clarendon press, 1796, 4to. His very learned and elaborate Edition of Strabo, after being many years in the Clarendon press, was finally published in 1807 by his nephew, the Rev. Thomas Falconer, M. A. of Bath, the translator of Hanno's Periplus, and Author of several works, not unworthy of the fame of his father and his uncle.

mighty,

mighty, and does not take upon him to say with authority, 'I will, be thou clean;' 'Damsel, I say unto thee, arise,' &c.

However splendid some of the miracles of Moses were, can any of them be compared to that of Christ raising himself from the dead! It seems providentially ordered to keep one character in due subordination to the other, that it should be recorded of Moses, that he died and was buried. The resurrection was a necessary miracle, not for the benefit of one nation, but of all mankind[1]."

"You seem to approve the remark that I sent you on ὁ λεγομενος Χριστος. It appears obvious enough; and yet I am as much at a loss as you are, to say who had ever made it. What are the Jew's objections to the two genealogies I know not. But if he objects to misnomers, this may very easily be retorted on a Jew. There are such in the Old Testament, which we cannot account for by supposing the same person to have had two names, 2 Chron. xxi. 12. Elijah is made to write a letter to king Jehoram several years after his assumption to Heaven. The letter must have been written by Elisha, as Dr. Kennicott observes, reclamantibus omnibus manuscriptis. Jeremiah xxvii. 1. is dated in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, which should have been Zedekiah, as appears from ver. 3. Levi will say, and, I doubt not, say true, that these were not the faults of the original writers, but of their copyists. But if he requires this allowance to be made him with regard to the Old Testament, can he reasonably refuse it to us with respect to the New, if any passage of it should require it; which I do not know to be the case. As to the name of Cainan in St. Luke's genealogy, and in the Septuagint, but not in the

[1] Letter to Mr. Churton, October 27, 1783.

Hebrew

Hebrew, whether it ought or ought not to stand, I leave to be settled between you and archdeacon Yardley; and have for this time done with the subject[1]."

Shortly afterwards he wrote what follows to a common friend:

"Mr. Churton tells me that he has shewed you what I said to him about our Saviour's genealogy. It could not be much; for I had never much considered the subject. But while I was lately thinking of it, a point occurred to me; my thoughts on which I shall transmit to you, Mr. Churton being absent from Oxford.

The point is, What was Solomon's right to the throne of Israel; in which, if his line failed, was involved the right of Nathan, his next brother; from whom, I think it evident, Christ by the blessed Virgin was descended.

It will be said perhaps, that the appointment of David his father was a sufficient title. It might be so: but I think this appointment was not arbitrary, but founded on a law of custom, prevalent in some nations: how far over those eastern parts in general, I will not pretend to say. But possibly the designation of Solomon to the crown, as proper heir of it, is intimated 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25. He was in the state of those, who, if I mistake not, were called in the Greek empire προφυρογεννηται, that is, he was born after his father became king; king, I mean, of all Israel: of these he was the eldest, and as such might be considered as intitled to succeed to the crown, in preference to any elder brother, born before the father was invested with this royal mantle. This was

[1] Letter to Mr. Churton, Dec. 5, 1788.

the

the rule at Sparta; as Demaratus, one of its exiled kings, urged to Darius in favour of Xerxes' title to the Persian empire, before his elder brother Artabasanes, who was born while Darius was yet a subject: Herodotus, b. vii. ch. iii. The same rule, as Baron de Tott tells us, is observed among the Turks. He who is to succeed the reigning Grand Seignior, must be one that was born after his father's advancement to the throne. It may be that the same consideration determined Abner and the Israelites to anoint Ishbosheth king, rather than Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan, whose father was never other than a subject; whereas Ishbosheth was born in the year in which Saul his father was made king. Compare 2 Sam. ii. 10. with Acts xiii. 21.

Now whether Joseph descended from Solomon, or as seems probable, his line having failed, from Nathan, the next royal heir of the house of David; the adopted son of Joseph, and the real son of Mary, who, I doubt not, sprang from Nathan, was by legal right, as well as divine appointment, King of Israel, if the matter is here rightly stated: which may have been so stated by others; though I know not that it has. I only observe further, that divine Providence guarded this royal line by its depression against Herod's jealousy, and gave another direction to it by the elevation of another of the Asamonean family.

Further this deponent sayeth not about the genealogy of Christ; but was disposed to commit these thoughts to paper, such as they are, while they were fresh in his memory, and to submit them to his esteemed friend at Williamscot.

P.S. I suppose the sons of David by Bathsheba are mentioned

mentioned 1 Chron. iii. 5. exactly in an inverted order [1]."

In reference to the foregoing letter, he said afterwards,

"I acknowledge that Solomon had a divine appointment to the crown of Israel; for this is evident from 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. I only meant to prove, that Heaven so ordered, that the appointment should have the concurrence of a custom of royal succession, that was allowed by the people to give an equitable claim of preference. So Saul, though anointed, as God had commanded, by Samuel, was chosen king by the people agreeing to refer the decision of the matter to lot. (1 Sam. x.) And David, though anointed in like manner, became king of ten of the tribes by their own free assent to his title. 2 Sam. v. 1—3. If this was not so, I see not how the right of succession, on the failure of Solomon's line, could descend to the stem of his next brother Nathan: for which there is no special appointment of Heaven upon record, that I am aware of. The right, as far as appears, was a certain human right; and this therefore founded on a custom of succession, which had coincided in Solomon with the divine ordinance: unless you will suppose that the posterity of David's sons elder than Solomon was at an end, which may be true, but I presume cannot be ascertained; and for that reason I was for establishing the claim of Nathan's family (from whom it is probable both Joseph and Mary descended) on other grounds [2]."

In conversation on this subject he remarked, that "there was no promise of the Messiah made to Solo-

[1] Letter of Jan. 3, 1789, to John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamscot, near Banbury, late of Doctors Commons.

[2] Letter to Mr. Churton, Jan. 26, 1789.

mon,

mon, which affords a presumption that his line failed, and that of Nathan succeeded. To this we may add, that the continuance of Nathan's branch, even after the coming of Christ, seems to be implied in a passage of Zechariah, xii. 12.

MARK XII. 27—31.

"LL. D. has before sent puzzling questions to D. D. but, as some perhaps will think, none more so than this *on the doctrine of the articles.* D. D. will not take upon him to deny, that the use of the prepositive article in Greek may sometimes be a matter of indifference, and the sense the same with or without it; as it seems to be in English whether we say, One of them, or, The one of them, whose name was Cleopas[1]. Luke xxiv. 18.

Yet he sees, or imagines he sees, generally a reason why the article is prefixed or omitted.

[1] He states this a little more explicitly in another place, thus: "In modern languages where a prepositive article is used, there are instances where it may be indifferent; there are others where it is regulated by the position of the words.

(1) Indifferent: We may ask, who is owner of this house? or, Who is *the* owner of this house? In many instances we may say, *The* Thames, or simply, Thames.

(2) Regulated by position of the words: We say, The king's prerogative; but, *The* prerogative of the king. Were we enumerating the princes of Europe, we should say, in one form or order of words, George is king of Great Britain; Lewis is king of France, &c. but in another order, *The* king of Great Britain is George: *The* king of France is Lewis. One whose native language was Latin, and who would say, Rex Britanniæ Georgius est, might think, if he understood our language only as a learned language, that the article *The* has no meaning in it, since it is used or omitted in expressing the very same thing. To an English ear the matter appears otherwise. And so we may conclude it did in many cases to a native Greek, where the difference does not appear to us."

In

In Mark xii. 27. the reading varies; but let us take it as we commonly find it, only construe the words as they stand in St. Matthew xxii. 32. οκ εστιν ὁ Θεος, Θεος νεκρων, αλλα ζωντων. The article, justly prefixed to Θεος, signifying the one God, seems justly omitted in the second instance, where Θεος is taken in a sort of distributive sense: 'God is not *a* God of the dead, but of the living;' not such a God as would intitle himself God of his departed servants, if he had suffered them to sink into non-existence. See our version, Luke xx. 38.

In what follows, 28—31. are various things to be considered. In ver. 29, 30, the quotation from Deuteronomy vi. 4, 5. is according to the Septuagint; which seems rightly to have dropt the article before Κυριος answering to Jehovah: 'Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.' Comp. Matth. iv. 7. 10.

It may be harder to account for the omission of the article before some other words in this passage; and to do it, we must go perhaps a little out of the road of common interpretation.

What then if we suppose the Scribe's notion, to have been, that among the precepts of the law there might be a first class of coequal precepts; and that he only wanted to have a precept named to him, which belonged to this class? 'Of all the precepts of the law, which is *a* first, or, as it is expressed in St. Matthew, *a* great precept?'

If this was the drift of the Scribe's question, our Lord answered it fully, by calling the love of God, not *the* first and great, but *a* first and great commandment, and the love of our neighbour *a* second like unto it.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless having answered the question as proposed to him, he then, to show the supereminence of these two commandments, added, ex abundante, 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'

The omission of the article before πρωτη, μεγαλη, δευτερα, both in stating and resolving the question, is observable; and, occurring in both the evangelists uniformly, gives some countenance to the supposition here made concerning the nature of the question.

If LL. D. is not satisfied with this response to his mashals and enigmas, he will be so good as to remember, that D. D. is neither the Solomon of the Jews nor the Œdipus of the Greeks[1]."

He bestowed much pains on this subject, and composed tables with short strictures on the article, as prefixed or omitted before Κυριος, and Θεος, and Ιησες. The result seems to be, that, in a great plurality of places in the New Testament, where Κυριος answers to Jehovah in the Old Testament, it is without the prepositive article; and that the passages in which it answers to Jehovah of the Old Testament, and yet has the article prefixed, are most of them peculiarly circumstanced, as quotations from the Septuagint, or the like: that "the article before Θεος is intensive[2]; but before Κυριος seems otherwise in the language of the New Testament, and when Christ is

[1] Letter to Dr. Loveday, April, 1783.

[2] In virtue of this principle, he puts an ingenious question: "John ix. 16. The Pharisees say, ὁτος ὁ ανθρωπος ουκ εστι παρα τυ Θυ. The blind man says, ver. 33. ει μη ην ὁτος παρα Θυ, ουκ ηδυνατο ποιειν ουδεν. Was the article used in one place, and not in the other, to intimate, that the Pharisees were bolder in denying Christ's mission from God, than the poor blind man in asserting it?"

the

the subject, often distinctive. See Acts xi. 20, 21[1]." That where Κυριος Ιησες or Χριςος Ιησες Κυριος occur without the article, the places "seem to be expressed with solemnity, as confessions of faith: as Rom. x. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 5. 1 Cor. xii. 3. Phil. ii. 11." And that, "the evangelists prefix the article to the name of Jesus, except in the following cases: 1. Where it is accompanied with some adjunct to distinguish it. 2. When ὁτι immediately precedes. 3. When απεκριθη immediately precedes. 4. When δε or εν immediately follows."

MARK XIV. 51, 52.

He dropped a hint in conversation that "a certain young man" here mentioned "was probably the evangelist himself, roused from his bed by the noise of those who led Christ, and running into the street to see what it was." If this conjecture be admitted, as apparently it may, it is obvious that St. Mark could from his own knowledge vouch for this part of the narrative, to those of his first readers, who might wish to hear him tell of an event so highly interesting and momentous. And thus a circumstance, at first sight not very material in the awful history, has its weight and consequence. But it is my business to relate, rather than to criticise.

JOHN XIX. 10, 11.

"Before I release you, I must trouble you with one more observation. John xix. 10, 11. has always

[1] So he remarks on James v. 14. that "the article seems to be used there to mark that the anointing was to be performed in the name of Christ."

appeared

appeared to me a difficult passage. I was lately speaking of it to a friend, when we consulted Doddridge, Macknight, and others, without being satisfied. It then came into my head, that it should be read and explained as follows:

'Then saith Pilate unto him, speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?

Jesus answered (Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above), *Therefore*, he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.'

Which I thus paraphrase:

PILATE—I have power to crucify thee, and power to release thee.

JESUS—*Therefore*, he that, *knowing my innocence*, hath delivered me unto thee, *who hast this power of the sword*, hath the greater sin. *Be assured, however*, that thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.

This appears to me the natural explication of our Lord's inference. But others may see it in a different light. To the judges therefore I submit it. But, *hath the greater sin*, I think, should be, *hath greater sin*, or more sin, i. e. hath his sin in delivering me up to thee aggravated and increased.

If you dislike the parenthesis, we may still keep the referenee of *therefore* to Pilate's words, to which indeed I think it belongs, by supposing a few words understood, in this manner:

Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except

except it were given thee from above. *But since thou hast this power of the sword*, Therefore he that, knowing my innocence, &c.[1]"

1 COR. X. 16—21.

"In order to deter the Corinthians from partaking of the feasts at idolatrous sacrifices, St. Paul seems to argue on the following principle:

That real effects, good or evil, are connected with sacrifices, and communicated to the partakers of the sacrifice.

This principle he shows to hold in the participation of the Christian sacrifice, and of Jewish sacrifices, that thence he may argue to the effects of idolatrous sacrifices.

With regard to the Christian sacrifice he reminds them (ver. 16.) that at the Lord's table there is a communion of Christ's sacrifice. In the next place,

Ver. 17. He instructs them concerning the effects of this sacrifice, that in consequence of partaking of the sign and pledge of it, the eucharistical bread, the faithful are united into one body.

Ver. 18. The effects of Jewish sacrifices he does not ascertain, it being sufficient for his purpose to remind them, that it is an acknowledged truth, that they who eat of the sacrifice partake of the altar.

[1] Letter to Mr. Loveday, April 24, 1780. Bishop Pearce, as he afterwards observed, "seems to agree with him in explaining διὰ τοῦτο" in this passage.

Ver.

Ver. 19. But granting all this, it will be said, perhaps, that the object of heathen sacrifices not being the one Almighty God of the Jews and Christians, but a senseless piece of wood, stone, or metal, the sacrifice made to it must partake of the inefficiency of its object; and there being no just analogy between the cases, the argument from one to the other is inconclusive.

Ver. 20. St. Paul in answer allows, that the idol itself is as nothing; but then asserts with apostolical authority, that the sacrifices made before the idol do not terminate in it, but are in truth offered to devils, powerful and malignant beings; and the efficacy of the sacrifice being established by the reality and power of its object, the conclusion, on the foot of analogy, too surely follows,

That, as the partaking of the Lord's table is a communion of Christ, so the partaking of the table of devils is a communion of them; which must separate us from our union with Christ, and lead us fatally in a contrary direction[1].

The seventeenth verse, I conceive, determines a very material point, the meaning of the preceding word, Communion; whether we understand this verse as our translators do, or in the sense which Dr. Waterland, as well as Dr. Bell adopts, and which has always appeared to me the more natural:

'Because the bread is one, we being many are one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.'

[1] He afterwards expressed it thus: That an idolatrous sacrifice being performed not to God but devils, the partaking of it is a communion of devils, which is utterly inconsistent with our union with Christ, and must be fatal in its consequences."

The

The body of which St. Paul here speaks, is, as he calls it, xii. 27. the body of Christ; with whom the members of it have the like internal and intimate connection, as the branches have with the vine. He is the head, from whom all the body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. Col. ii. 19.

Christ only could originally constitute such a body, and his power and energy must be perpetually necessary to animate and *compact* it. (Eph. iv. 16.) Without Him the head, no social act of any number of Christians can avail any thing to that purpose.

But, by ver. 17. the joint participation of the sacramental bread does avail to that purpose. It must be therefore because he is present in the celebration of the ordinance, and hath appointed it as a mean, by which he imparts and the faithful receive of that sanctifying spirit, which unites the members to the head and to each other, and compacts the whole into one body. This imparting and receiving must then be implied in the communion of ver. 16. For nothing short of this is adequate to the effect, which, by ver. 17, is annexed to the joint partaking of that one bread."

July, 1781.

In a sermon[1] on the first of these verses, he observes, "The Lord's supper is not only a remembrance and commemoration of the death and sacrifice of Christ, but a feast upon this sacrifice. When St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, 'Christ our passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast;' his words imply, that the Jewish passover was a sacrifice and feast upon it; and that Christians have a

[1] Written in December, 1780.

passover

passover which resembles it." And he states this resemblance or parallel at some length.

GALATIANS, III.

" Is this the substance of the apostle's argument?

God made a promise to Abraham, which hath the nature of a covenant, that in his seed, in one person descended from him, that is, Christ, all nations should be blessed.

Four hundred and thirty years after this, the law from mount Sinai was ordained by the ministry of angels, and the mediation of Moses.

The very nature of mediation supposes two parties, between whom the Mediator exercises his office.

One of these parties is plainly the people of Israel. And who is the other? As plainly God.

God therefore was a party, both in the Abrahamic and Sinaitic covenants.

But God is one; one in a moral as well as natural sense, by simplicity of *will* as well as of *essence*.

As such he could not will or intend by the Sinaitic, a subsequent and limited, covenant, to alter or infringe a prior and universal, the Abrahamic covenant.

This therefore stands good, and hath its full effect, without need of support from the other.

Is therefore the law of the Sinaitic covenant hostile to the promise of the Abrahamic? By no means. By showing what sin is, it shows the want of the covenant in Christ; it contains the promises of him, and typifies his character and offices. It is therefore an introduction to Christ. But when it has answered this end, it is of no further use. It cannot deliver from the guilt or power of sin: it is not of a nature to give life. These are the prerogatives of the Abrahamic covenant, brought to perfection by the advent and performances of Christ the promised seed."

PHILIPPIANS, II. 6—11.

"As far as I can collect, the sense of Philippians ii. 6—11. which Wolfius approves, is to this effect:

'Who possessing a state of divine majesty (and by consequence the real nature of God) did not pompously display, and pertinaciously retain it, but took on himself a servile state.'

Here they seem all to agree, that the *servile state*, here intended, was that of a mean condition among men.

But as every created being is in a servile state, a state of subjection, with regard to his Creator, may not the meaning of a *servile state* be the state of a creature of God? the apostle then explaining what this creaturely state was, which the Son of God assumed, namely that of man; in which state he further humbled himself by being obedient to death, even the death of the cross."

To these scriptural criticisms, it seems not improper to subjoin the following letter on the liturgy, written to a friend, Jan. 5, 1786.

"You

"You have great objections to many passages in the Psalms; and so should I too, if I did not consider them in a different light, as warnings not wishes, as the voice not of an individual, uttering his private resentments, but of the church; in which I join, not to execrate any, but to declare, on the authority of God's word, what will be the final end of the unjust, of the cruel, the malicious, the enemies of God and his religion.

Such undoubtedly is her voice in the Commination: which resembles the public reading of an act of parliament against certain vices, or one in particular, for instance swearing. The legislature, by ordering such a thing to be done, means not to thrust any one within the fangs of the law; but by showing how it will strike the offender, to deter from the offence. And this seems an act, not of malice or revenge, but of parental kindness. The Commination does not say, Cursed *be* the man, but, Cursed *is* the man: how cursed? by lying under the sentence of the divine law, and being liable to its penalties, unless he repent of his sins, and forsake them. By pointing out the evil of his present state, it warns him to flee from it.

But this, you will say, does not reach the case of those passages in the Psalms, to which you object. These do not run in the form, They *will be* wiped out of the book of life, but, *Let* them *be* wiped out. Yet what if the real sense of these seeming execrations is either purely declaratory, or prophetic? The very verse in which you instance, Psal. lviii. 9. (which by the by seems a very obscure passage) runs in the future tense in the bible translation; and the whole psalm may fairly be interpreted as a forcible remonstrance to men in power, against oppression and perversion of justice. If then it was penned by David in the time of his royalty, does it not indicate a

princely concern for his inferior subjects, to admonish his nobles and judges, that one higher than they will surely call them to account for abuse of authority?

The three most remarkable psalms of the sort which you complain of, are xxxvth, lxixth, and cixth; all of which may, on the best grounds, be considered as prophetic. Christ, as St. Paul says, 'is the end of the law,' of the law appointed by Moses, and subsisting till the gospel times. Its most significant rites, and most important prophecies and events, had an aspect upon Him. And to these psalms, our Lord himself says, John xv. 25, that the Jews, by hating him without a cause, fulfilled the words of their law: which words occur in Psalm xxxv. 19. St. Peter tells us also, Acts i. 16. that Judas, by betraying his Lord, incurred what David had predicted of him; and then cites two clauses from Psalms lxix. and cix. Nay he says, that the Holy Ghost spake these things by the mouth of David: whose language and descriptions, under this influence, went often, as did those of the other prophets, beyond his own immediate and distinct views. If in the xxiid Psalm his first design was to paint his own distresses, it hath been so ordered, that he has done it in colours much better adapted ultimately to the sufferings of Christ: to which the evangelists apply several parts of the psalm. The end of the workman and his master, you know, may be different in the same thing. The end of the man, whom you hire to plough and sow your field, may be only to earn the price of his labour; your's is to obtain a crop of corn. Whatever therefore were the intentions of the Psalmist, which I hope were much milder than you suppose, in the passages that seem to curse his own foes, I read them as intended by Him who seeth the end from the beginning as denunciations against the enemies of Christ and his Gospel. Are they prophetic?

phetic? I adore, in their accomplishment on the Jewish nation, the hand of Him who says, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will repay.' Are they declaratory? I would sound, in the ears of sinners, their infinite peril, who crucify the Son of God to themselves afresh by their lusts, Heb. vi. 6. In this light I consider these passages, that is, as either prophetic, or monitory. If any private devout Christian cannot see them in the same light, as He may with as good a conscience be silent, when they are read, so I think I can read them aloud.

The Churching of women, being performed in many churches at the communion table as a separate service, would be too short, as you propose to retrench it, and I think lose, instead of acquiring, solemnity.

I believe the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Communion service were intended by our Reformers to be distinct; and, if I am rightly informed, were for a considerable time performed in some cathedrals at different times of the morning, that they who could not be present at one, might attend another. The joining them together, as is now done, has occasioned a more frequent repetition of the Lord's prayer, and very much lengthened the service. But *long* is a relative term: and though I think there is no great danger, that the patient perseverance of your ancestors in hearing and praying should return; yet since things improbable are possible, how shall the Church, if she is to establish any thing permanent, accommodate the length of her offices to the variable modes of thinking, that succeed each other in her children?"

The merit of these articles, I trust, will abundantly compensate the length of them. I now resume the thread of narration.

In

In the northern part of the diocese of Chester, the Roman Catholics form a considerable body. This circumstance, and his connection with that district as archdeacon of Richmond, although, as we have seen, the relation was little more than nominal, induced him to turn his mind to examine the claims of the church of Rome; and he composed a dissertation on the subject, deducing his arguments against the pretensions of the infallible see chiefly from a consideration of the vision in the Apocalypse concerning Babylon, as it is understood by learned expositors of that communion to signify the city of Rome.

His travels abroad, and his studies at home, concurred to qualify him for this inquiry: and what he wrote on the subject was highly approved by the judicious friends to whose perusal he submitted it, and they urged him to publish. The work was carefully and repeatedly revised, and transcribed for the press; but, with his wonted diffidence, he deferred the publication; nor did he at last, when the question was put to him, pronounce decisively whether it should, or should not, be printed.

Another matter there was however, on which, whenever a fit occasion presented itself, he never showed any hesitation or reluctance. This was to cultivate and promote charity; of which one instance ought here to be remembered, that regarded a new institution, set on foot under the auspices of Bishop Porteus, in the Archdeaconry before mentioned. There had long been a very ample subscription for the benefit of the necessitous clergy in the archdeaconry of Chester; but there was none for those who wanted it most, in the northern deaneries, where the livings are the smallest, and the country, comparatively, poor and ill inhabited. It was thought by many a hopeless undertaking to raise any thing like a to-

a tolerable fund in a district so desolate. The zeal, however, of the good prelate determined him to attempt it; and with the help principally of Dr. Townson, who was uncommonly active in the business, and of the Rev. Mr. Hutton, vicar of Burton, the project succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of those who patronised it[1]. Both the gentry and clergy subscribed cheerfully and liberally. There is now a very handsome fund, and infinite service is daily done by it to the poor clergy, to their widows and families, in those parts. Dr. Townson was chosen President of the infant establishment[2], was an annual subscriber to it, and gave also to it annually a benefaction of ten pounds.

Meanwhile he was going on with and perfecting, at intervals of leisure, the Discourse on our blessed Saviour's Resurrection; which was begun, as we have mentioned, in 1778. In the following spring he spoke of the work as being so far finished, that, as he then thought, he could make it no better; only that a few notes were to be added[3]. In 1784 he printed part of it, to which he prefixed the following modest advertisement[4]:

"A few copies are printed of the First Part of this Discourse, for the sake of submitting it to more impartial judges than most authors are of their own performances. If the friends of the writer think the plan he has pursued unsatisfactory, he had rather stop, and suppress what is here laid before them, than trouble the Christian world with any thing fur-

[1] From the information of the Bishop of London, January 1, 1793.

[2] Kendal, July 3, 1778.

[3] Letter to Mr. Loveday, March 22, 1779.

[4] The title was, "A Discourse on the Evangelical Histories of the Resurrection and first Appearances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." 53 pages, 4to.

ther

ther on a subject that has been so frequently canvassed. Their free opinion of the whole, or, if they approve the plan in general, of particular passages to which they may object, will be very thankfully received by him."

He distributed six or eight copies among those in whose judgement he placed confidence. The plan was, in all material parts, the same as it now is, and as it had been from the first. The words however of the evangelists were not disposed in regular sequence, but introduced occasionally in the body of the work, and followed by remarks and illustrations.

One of the friends, to whom he gave this preliminary specimen of the work, was Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet, who had studied the subject of the resurrection with much care and attention. His advice to the author, after an exact perusal and consideration of the plan, was, that he should compose a harmony of this part of the Gospels, in the manner of Toinard, arranging the words of each evangelist in parallel columns, with a connecting paraphrase by the side; and that the proofs and illustrations should be subjoined to this unbroken series of narration. The scheme suggested met his approbation; and he new modeled the work accordingly; and was more and more convinced, the more he considered it, that this plan would turn out the clearest and most satisfactory [1].

Still however no intreaties could extort the manuscript from him; and when he understood that a learned work or two on the subject were just come

[1] Letters to Dr. Loveday, Dec. 20, 1787, and March 27, 1788.

out

out in Germany [1], he eagerly seized the intelligence to repress the solicitations of friendly importunity for immediate publication. The works were procured, and the substance of the most material passages was translated for him from the German. They occasioned no alteration in his performance, though the desire of seeing them had afforded a plea for deferring to publish. Bishop Newcome's "Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel-history relating to our Lord's Resurrection," published in Dublin at the close of the year 1791, he did not see; and had it reached him, as his Lordship "accedes to Dr. Benson's hypothesis," with which he was well acquainted, it would probably, in his estimation, have been classed with other labours of the learned, which he did not wish to notice, where he could not commend.

In his last illness, and in the last part of that illness, he revised the work again. He improved the index, and made some slight emendations in the discourse itself. He thought there was a passage in St. Augustin's Consent of the Evangelists still more to his purpose, than what he has quoted [2]; but he could not discover it. "Some one perhaps, he said, will meet with it, and will say, 'What he has cited is not much amiss; but he might have produced this, which would have more availed him.' With all my heart; he is perfectly welcome to his triumph."

He at first proposed, as a motto for the work, Acts ii. 24. "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not pos-

[1] The History of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, by John Frederic Plessing; Halle, 1788. 2 vol. 8vo.
On Golgotha, or the Sepulchre of Christ, by the same; ib. 1789.
[2] P. 187.

sible

sible that he should be holden of it." He afterwards wished for some little ornament or vignette for the title-page; and he suggested a drawing of the Church of the holy Sepulchre from Cotovicus or Sandys, and in the east the sun just risen, according to St. Mark, xvi. 2; with these words of St. Luke under it: "He is not here, but is risen." xxiv. 6. This, he thought, if done neatly, would be very proper. Next day, which was the day before his decease, he mentioned "a very ingenious young lady" in the neighbourhood, who he thought would execute the design with elegance; and from her drawing, which I will not disparage by attempting to praise, the plate is engraved.

He wrote a letter to his friend Dr. Loveday—the last he ever wrote—to accompany the Discourse: in which he tells him, "At last come the papers to you, that you have been so long desiring; and now they are come, perhaps you may begin to wish, you had not been so eager after them. For now the whole trouble of transacting with the bookseller, and of revising the press, will devolve upon yourself.—You see how exceedingly gracious I am to you." After this stroke, and more, of his usual pleasantry, together with some directions relative to the publication, he concludes, "I pray God to have you all in his holy keeping[1]."

Under the inspection of the friend to whom the work was thus intrusted, it is now faithfully printed from the corrected manuscript. As to the merit of the performance, his only remark was, "that he had done the best he could; and if the world were not satisfied, they must criticise;—but, Mr. Churton, if they do not make haste, I shall be out of their way!"

[1] April 12, 1792.

In

In this detail, which I trust is, in part, a view of the Author as well as the work, we have attended him to the verge of the grave. But we must look back upon one or two circumstances of earlier occurrence.

No one can live long in this world without surviving some of his dearest friends. It is the condition of mortality, designed by gracious Providence, among other wise purposes, to make us content to go hence, when it shall please God to summon us to another part of his universal kingdom. Mr. Loveday's name has appeared in these papers as a friend and correspondent of Dr. Townson's. He was "the constant object of his esteem and affection, from a very early period of his life[1];" and he did not scruple to declare, that he owed the turn of study which produced his theological works, "more to Mr. Loveday's friendship and conversation, than to any other human means[2]." This incomparable person, thus connected with Dr. Townson, and therefore with these memoirs, departed this life, May 16, 1789. He used to say, that when any one died, a certain portion of knowledge was lost to the world, and died with him: a remark that has seldom been more strikingly exemplified, than in himself. For though his abilities were great, and his communications to works of literature as liberal as his stores were ample, he never himself published any thing. In history and antiquities he possessed a fund of intelligence, that was almost inexhaustible; and if he could not instantly inform you on a subject, he always knew where information, if books could supply it, was to be found. He was eminent in philological learning of all sorts; and for exact skill in the original languages of the holy Scriptures, he had

[1] Letter to Mr. Churton, May 23, 1789.
[2] Letter to Mr. Loveday, July 25, 1778.

scarcely

scarcely perhaps, after the death of his intimate friend Bishop Lowth, his equal in the kingdom. His taste was polished, his judgement candid; and he particularly excelled in the virtues of the heart, and the graces of conversation; in sensibility and charity; in modesty, humility, and universal cheerfulness. We have it under his own hand,—which never wrote what his heart did not dictate, "that, take all things together, he never relished life more[1]" than in his 79th year; and at that advanced period, with a slight decay of memory, and under a gradual decline of bodily strength, he still retained "just the same degree of understanding, with which his God originally endowed him[1]." He lived without an enemy, and died without a groan; leaving regret to his friends, and to the world a character that will never perish.

The year after the decease of this his dear and honoured friend, an infirmity came upon Dr. Townson, which rendered traveling painful and hazardous. The malady, in itself not very severe nor uncommon, was affecting in its circumstances. It was the first symptom of approaching dissolution; and it cut him off from visiting those distant friends, whom he loved and respected. His feelings were sensibly touched on the occasion; but he quickly became content, and almost pleased with the dispensation. "I do not," he said with emphasis, "regret this at all. There is a time when it is right a man should stay at home." And the sincerity of the declaration

[1] Note to Dr. Townson, March 19, 1789. See in the Gent. Mag. for that year, p. 471, some account of Mr. Loveday, and also, p. 487, a character of him, signed Crito, drawn with equal ability and truth by John Taylor, M. D. of Reading, a member of Brasen Nose College—to which those who have every reason to wish well, cannot wish better than that it may always produce similar talents and worth.

was evinced by his spirits and cheerfulness, which flowed, if possible, with a fuller tide than ever.

Poetry, if it is not of a gloomy cast, is commonly an indication that the spirits do not flag. At the close of this year, 1790, he wrote the following ode, to his friend William Drake junior, esquire, in return for a present he had received from him:

Ausus et ipse manu juvenum tentare laborem.

GULIELMO DRAKE, JUNIORI, ARMIGERO.

Integer vitæ Gulielme, Tecum
Tiberis ripas adiisse gratum est,
Quaque florentis populi alluebat
Sequana turres,

Tunc ovans amnis; neque enim sciebat
Quanta vis, orci e tenebris, Sororum
Missa dirarum male feriatam
Urbem agitaret.

Nunc dolet priscis Pietas ab aris
Pulsa; cesserunt et Honos et Ordo;
Rege detruso, modo qui per orbem
Claruit omnem;

Rege captivo, et trepidante, plebis
Inter insanæ miseros tumultus,
Quæ suum miro Dominum colebat
Nuper amore.

Gens levis, gens sunt malefida Galli.
Sed Fides antiqua beatiorem
Anglicâ terrâ retinet—tuoque
Pectore sedem.

Quas pares grates tibi, proque cultis
Versibus reddat nitidoque dono,
Qui tuo inprimis animo foveri
Gaudet, amicus?

Exeat

Exeat felix abiturus annus;
Ducat et longam seriem sequentûm,
Cuncta qui plene cumulent tuisque
Et Tibi fausta.

Dec. 4, 1790.

He still composed sermons occasionally for the instruction of his parish. Nor was he inattentive, amidst his sacred studies, to the publications of the day, and to works of philology and genius. In the autumn of 1791, he was reading Mr. Cowper's Iliad "with no small pleasure; and had proceeded about half way, but then stopt, finding his relish for such intellectual amusements failing him. Whether I have recovered it, he says, I have not yet made the experiment; and at this time of day it would be no great matter whether I have or not, if my thoughts had so much more fully taken a higher direction[1]."

When he wrote this he was struggling with that malady, which it pleased God was his last. Some symptoms of dropsy came upon him with the cold weather in December. However he still attended church; and on the first day of the new year preached with good elocution, twenty-three minutes, on Proverbs xxvii. 1. "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." A sermon on this text was the first that he preached in Malpas church; and another on the same text happened to be the last. His complaint, attended with an asthma, increased after this in a very rapid and alarming degree; and, for the first time during his residence at Malpas, medical assistance was called in.

[1] Letter to Mr. Churton, Feb. 16, 1792.

Upon

Upon the first attack of the disorder his spirits sunk considerably; but divine goodness, aiding his endeavours, soon restored his cheerfulness in all its vigour. Medicine also afforded some relief to the disorder; but this very relief was not without its inconvenience; and he wrote the following epigram on the "dilemma between taking and refusing the medicines prescribed for shortness of breath[1]:"

Pharmaca, quæ stomachum vexant et viscera, sumo,
Nempe ea succurrunt debili anhelitui.
Ni sumo, intereo male spirans; ast ubi sumo,
Non queo ferre cibos, intereoque fame.

He read Isaac Walton's Lives during his illness; with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of those meek and holy men, described by the pleasing and faithful biographer. He also read, and assuredly with similar intentions, Mr. Herbert's Country Parson. In conversing with a very worthy and highly-esteemed friend, the Rev. Ralph Bridge, M.A. one of the curates of Malpas, on an event which it was foreseen could not be far distant, the "passage of death" was mentioned; and, in allusion to that expression, he shortly afterwards desired him, in the following distich, to pray, that, if it pleased God, his departure might neither be lingering, nor painful:

Funde preces Domino, ne transitus hunccc per angi-
Portum sit longus, neu mihi difficilis.

His respiration at times was laborious, especially after any little exertion; but in general, at least by his own account, he suffered very little pain. He slept comfortably; and often when he awaked felt

[1] Letter to Dr. Loveday, March 15, 1792.

as

as well as ever he was in his life, till he began to move, and found the want of strength and activity.

Though it was winter, and his friends pressed him to stay at home, he attended church with very few intermissions. And on Easter Sunday, April 8, the hand that writes this, administered to him, at the holy table, the blessed emblems of the body and blood of his dear Redeemer.

On the following Saturday he had had a remarkably good night; and read prayers to his family with greater strength of voice, than he had done for several days. He was extremely cheerful. His curate, the Rev. James Heaton, M. A. called, and he gave him privately four guineas for a charitable subscription, with an injunction to put down his name for half the sum only. And this may, not improperly, be called the last deed of his life. For in less than an hour, as he was walking alone, he fell; and though he was not bruised by the fall, the concussion and the cold (for it was in the open air) hurt him greatly. His breathing was difficult; and he dozed most part of the time.

This accident, in all human appearance, shortened his days perhaps a week or a fortnight. But the stroke was not without circumstances of mercy. He had this very morning given the only direction, which remained to be given respecting his work—had no alteration taken place, his Brasen Nose friend, who was now with him, would have returned, as duty called him, to Oxford—and, lastly, he must otherwise, in a few days, have been confined to a bed of debility and languor. But, as matters were ordered, the Father of all wisdom, and God of all comfort, who had permitted an attachment he once had to be disappointed, was pleased so to extend his goodness to his faithful servant,

servant, both in his former unexampled good health, and in the circumstances of his final sickness, that those endearing attentions, which female tenderness and affection alone can administer, should not be wanted: and what servants can perform, was done in the best manner possible.

He rose on Sunday morning, April 15, at the usual hour; but his strength was not recruited. He had frequent and calm slumbers; felt no uneasiness, except "some times a very very little pain in his breast." His memory was as quick as ever, and his attention to his friends undiminished. Towards evening, when it was proposed to assist him to bed, he put it off with civil excuses. About eight o'clock he consented; and walked between two persons with some alertness. I was supporting him while the servant took off his clothes, and he fainted in my arms; and it was feared life was no longer in him. But when he was laid gently down in bed, he revived; and lay, he said, quite easy. At the hour of prayers, as it was judged he was too infirm to join in them, those who could be spared withdrew to another room. When we returned, the laborious respiration had ceased; he breathed feebly, but seemingly with perfect ease. In a very short space he opened his eyes, and with a placid countenance looked steadfastly upwards best part of a minute. Then he closed his eyes, and in less than another minute had ceased breathing, but so calmly and gently, that the friend who stood nearest could not perceive his last breath.

He was interred near the grave of his diligent and respected curate, the Rev. Mr. Turner, on Monday the 23d of April; when ten of the neighbouring clergy, those whom he loved and valued whilst he lived, paid the last sad offices due to humanity. At the mournful solemnity, crowds indulged their af-

fection and their grief, by a voluntary attendance and abundant tears; and the principal inhabitants put on the robe of sorrow, to soothe their melancholy and show their regard. So is goodness honoured and lamented!

In his will, written with his own hand, and dated May 28, 1791, he "commends his soul into the hands of his Creator, who gave it, through his infinite mercies in his only Son, our ever blessed Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and if he dies at Malpas, he desires his body may be buried somewhere in the church-yard, towards the north side of the church." To his friend and patron, William Drake, Esquire, he bequeathed one hundred pounds to purchase books: and desired the Right Honourable Lord Bagot to accept some of his Italian books, "as a small token of his gratitude and esteem:" and left also memorials to other branches of the family, which he had known so long and valued so highly. To his godchildren likewise he left remembrances, and legacies to his distant relations; annuities to certain widows and poor neighbours, and legacies to all his servants. To Magdalen College, of which he had been fellow, he gave one hundred pounds; and the like sum to each of the Societies for Promoting and Propagating the Christian Religion, of both which he had been many years a member[1]. To the poor of Malpas he gave fifty pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of his worthy brother rector, the Rev. Reginald Heber, M.A. sometime fellow of Brasen Nose College; and the reversionary interest of five hundred pounds South Sea stock, after some annuities fall in, for educating young children: or other charitable purposes, as the rectors for the

[1] He became a subscribing member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1752; and a member of the other before 1757; and was one of the Stewards for the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy in 1771.

time

time being should think best. He likewise directed certain books out of his library should be given to his friend Mr. Loveday, or, if he survived him, to his son Dr. Loveday. The rest of his property, real and personal, he bequeaths to his dear brother and sole executor, John Townson, Esquire, of Gray's Inn.

Thus affection, piety, and charity, conspicuous features in his life, peculiarly distinguish also this his final will and testament. It is supposed, that out of an income of about eight hundred pounds a year, he generally bestowed a fourth part, and sometimes half, in deeds of beneficence. This revenue of charity was managed by him with all possible secrecy, with the most amiable condescension and kindness to those who were the objects of it, and in every respect with the greatest wisdom and circumspection. For indeed he was blessed with an excellent understanding and judgement, improved by much reflection, and observation of the world, as well as large and well-selected reading. Having in early life laid his foundation in the sciences, and formed his taste on the best models of antiquity, he thenceforth devoted his time and talents to his peculiar profession; and human learning became the handmaid of theology. Of the success of his labours in this sublime study, and of the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, it is needless to speak; of this his works, in which intelligence at once various and profound is so admirably brought to bear on the subject in hand, are a lasting monument. He had in truth the most perfect command of all his intellectual stores; and so intimately was he versed in the celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, and their great English rivals, that there was scarcely a shining passage in their immortal works, that was not treasured up in his wonderful memory. His conversation, whether with a few or with more, was rich, animated,

and interesting; and perhaps no one, endowed with any degree of sensibility, ever was in his company without feeling himself, for the time, happier and better. His cheerfulness was invariable, and his civility the genuine virtue of the heart; and that a heart overflowing with benevolence, and hallowed by religion. From this source streamed an effulgence of countenance, which those only who beheld can adequately conceive; but which perhaps never was better expressed, than in the words of our great poet:

> "Till oft converse with heav'nly habitants
> Begin to cast a beam on th' outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind[1]."

He was graceful in person, of middle stature, and rather thin, till he made his second tour into Italy, when he returned and continued of a fuller habit. He had long used glasses; but, sight excepted, his bodily senses were unimpaired, and his teeth as firm and as white as ivory. But, "of the soul alone the form is immortal[2]," and of That the fairest ornament was piety. We have before spoken of his devotion, domestic and public. His more private aspirations to heaven, the exercise of his closet, I presume not to "draw from their sacred abode." They were known to Him who seeth in secret; and He will one day reward them openly. Public facts, however, are within the province of the historian; and, if good, should be held forth to imitation. His piety was an early habit, and it never forsook him. It was the guide of his youth, the support of manhood, the crown of old age. In foreign countries this was his comfort; in all the felicity of his native land, whose constitution none more ardently loved and admired,

[1] Milton's Comus, 459.
[2] Forma mentis æterna. Tacit. Vit. Agric. ad fin.

as

as few better understood; in all the felicity of this favoured land, religion was his delight, and the Church of England his glory. The full effects of this piety can be known only at that day, which shall reveal all things; but many, doubtless, were in every way won to righteousness by its transcendent loveliness. It was humble and unobtrusive, never dashed harmless mirth, never courted human applause; but, associated with joy and serenity, was ever ready, at home or abroad, in the moment of gladness or day of affliction, to advance the love of God, the belief of his gospel, and the good of mankind.

His candour was as striking as his other virtues. He gave full praise to merit wherever it appeared; and was most willing to make allowance for human infirmity. The depravity of the age, that stale topic of the idle and censorious, was no subject of complaint with Him; he hoped and believed better things of the world he lived in. He was a kind and gracious master; a most generous and faithful friend. Greater humanity has rarely dwelt in man; nor ever with more perfect obedience to a still higher principle. To behold him when he parted with those he loved, or when they were removed by death, was a lesson of affection to the heart, and of faith to the soul. He who records this had long been treated by him with parental tenderness; and in his last illness, when moments were precious, he never suffered him to retire to rest, without some act or expression of kindest regard.

Never, perhaps, in these latter ages, has any man, in a like situation, been equally esteemed, and equally lamented. His parish, his friends, and all good men grieved for an event, that extinguished one of the brightest ornaments of religion and learning, and took from the poor, the widow and the orphan, a protector, a guide, a father: of whom we may affirm, almost

almost without a figure, that his every sentiment was piety, and every deed beneficence; his spirit was meekness, and his soul charity.

Such was his life; and his death was similar, equally serene, resigned, and edifying. Without a struggle, without a sigh, his heart fixed on heaven, and his looks directed thither, he closed his eyes, never to open till the resurrection of the just.

R. CHURTON.

Brasen Nose College,
Feb. 15, 1793.

P. S. Nov. 27, 1809. To the foregoing account it may be proper to add, that the affection of John Townson, Esquire, of Gray's Inn, for the best of brothers caused a neat marble tablet to be erected to his memory in the church at Malpas, with the following inscription; which not having been drawn up when the preceding memoirs were compiled, is here submitted to the indulgence of the candid Reader; and I am happy to add a testimony more worthy of the Deceased, paid to his memory by his esteemed friend and successor in the Rectory of Blithfield, the Reverend Walter Bagot, M. A. who himself departed this life, July 10, 1806, aged 74.

On

On the South Wall in the Chancel at MALPAS.

The Reverend Thomas Townson, D. D.
Archdeacon of Richmond,
whose remains are interred, as he directed,
near the north wall of the church yard,
was sometime Fellow of
St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford,
and more than forty-one years Rector of
the lower mediety of this Parish;
where constant attention
to the temporal wants and spiritual welfare
of every rank,
joined with benignity of mind
and courtesy of manners,
gained him universal esteem
and cordial affection.
He was learned, humble, pious:
his writings were distinguished by
classical elegance, sound argument,
evangelical purity:
his devotion
was fervent without enthusiasm,
his liberality
inexhaustible, yet studiously concealed;
his cheerfulness invariable,
and his countenance heavenly.
His life and death were alike edifying,
the one was piety, the other peace.
He expired full of hope in Jesus Christ
on Sunday evening April 15, 1792.
aged 77 years.

On a tablet of white marble, against the South Wall in the Church at BLITHFIELD; his arms below: quarterly, first and fourth, on a Saltier, between 4 Escalops, 5 Cross Crosslets; second and third, 5 Crosses plain and a Chevronel: Crest, on a wreath 3 Cross Crosslets fitchy, surmounted with an Escalop. The first and fourth, Gules and Or, were borne by Ralph Townson, son of Robert Townson, bishop of Salisbury. Guillim, p. 247. b.

In
Memory of
Thomas Townson, D. D.
Rector of this Parish from 1749 to 1759
A learned humble and truly pious Christian
A faithful minister of the Church of God
Which he constantly supported and adorned
both by his Life and Writings
Loved and regretted by all who knew him
He died at Malpas in Cheshire
April 15, 1792, aged 77.
and was there buried amidst the sighs and
tears of his afflicted Parishioners.

Let future Rectors follow if they can
The bright Example of this holy man!

INTRODUCTION.

THE following discourse was the result of an inquiry, carefully pursued, at intervals of leisure, during the space of five or six years or more. In the selection of examples to establish the hypothesis, to which the investigation was uniformly found to lead, two objects were in view: to bring forward and compare, out of a multitude of passages noted for the purpose, and alike conclusive, such as seemed at once to demonstrate the point in hand, and were also, from the subject matter of them, or from some collateral circumstance, judged to be best suited to the nature of a public discourse.

The penmen of holy Scripture, who always wrote under the guidance and controul, and often by the immediate suggestion, of the Holy Spirit, were placed in a situation so pre-eminent and distinguished from all other writers, that some difference in their modes of proceeding might naturally be expected; and this, in particular, seems to have been a peculiar and invariable rule with them, that they frequently quote, especially in historical matters, the pre-existing accounts of their inspired brethren, but never mention that they do quote them. If this position is satisfactorily proved in the discourse subjoined, I shall not repent submitting it to the candour

candour of the Public, in humble hope that it may form no improper introduction to the Discourses of Dr. Townson on the Gospels; by showing that what is there maintained, in the case of the Evangelists, was the known and established practice of revelation, from the days of the first prophets that succeeded Moses.

Learned and ingenious men frame to themselves theories of what a Gospel should contain, where it should begin, and where it should end; and then they pronounce, concerning the order and design of the existing Gospels, as they agree or disagree with these abstract rules and canons of their own devising. But this, surely, is a very fallible criterion. The ways of God are not as man's ways; and although those that search with meekness of understanding (for to such especially "mysteries are revealed[1]") may generally discover plain marks of wisdom, in the whole progress and several parts of divine revelation; yet the manifestations which have been made, and the things which have been done, have very seldom been such as the wit of man would antecedently have concluded to be reasonable and proper. Most men, in Naaman's situation, would probably have thought as he did, that the holy prophet would come out to such an extraordinary and illustrious visitant, and call on his God, and recover the leper; but we can all see, in the sequel, how the glory of the God of Israel was advanced, and true humility and goodness promoted, as Heaven conducted the business, more than if it had been ordered as the haughty Syrian expected.

In the new dispensation imparted to mankind, it was always, without question, a part of the divine

[1] Eccles. iii. 19.

economy,

economy, that there should be four distinct Histories of the life, and miracles, and discourses, and death of our blessed Lord; and that they should, jointly and severally, tend to the same great end, the confirmation of our belief in Him as the Son of God, and Redeemer of the world. But each Gospel in succession, was, no doubt, called for by the then existing circumstances of the Christian church, or of some considerable portions of it; so that it was expedient, that a work, of such a description and character, should then and there be published, rather than at a different period, or in a different place.

"The progress in planting the Christian faith," as Dr. Townson observes, "was from a church purely of the circumcision, to a mixed community; and from thence to distinct churches of the Gentiles [1]." And it has been shown, from many internal marks, that St. Matthew wrote for the first, St. Mark for the second, and St. Luke for the third settlement of the faith." In this order the Gospels have all along been disposed; and the testimonies of the early fathers show, that they generally understood them to have been published in this order [2]. The proof must be cogent indeed, which shall convince us, contrary to this consentient evidence from within and without, that the Apostles and their inspired companions, reversing their known practice in *preaching* the Gospel, composed a *written* Gospel first for the Gentiles, and afterwards for the Jews.

[1] Disc. vi. Sect. iii. 2 §.

[2] Dr. Mill, in his Prolegomena, § 62. says, "Lucam conscripsisse Evangelium sumn post scriptum Evangelium Matthæi, inter omnes convenit." Mr. Dunster's Discursory Considerations on the subject I am sorry that I have not been able to procure; but the Testimonies of the Ancients on this head (of which see a summary view in Dr. Townson, Disc. ii. Sect. ii.) are indeed so full and decisive, that I must abide by them, conceiving that they cannot be set aside, or explained away, but by such arguments as would invalidate all historic evidence whatsoever.

It

It is a just remark of an excellent Commentator on the Gospels: "Credidisse dicuntur qui *firmius* credunt[1]." When our Lord manifested his glory by his first miracle, it is expressly said, that "his disciples believed in him[2]." And yet, long after this, when they had seen him perform numberless miracles, he said, on the occasion of the death of Lazarus, "I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent that ye may believe[3]:" and afterwards, almost as it were with his dying breath, he exhorted them, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me[4]." From any one of the three, or indeed of the four, Gospels an impartial reader might, no doubt, "know the certainty" of those things, which he had been taught by oral instruction; but the evidence is more full and unexceptionable, and our conviction more complete, when three or four distinct witnesses, whether by word or in writing, attest the same thing.

In the constant correspondence and intercourse, which subsisted among the first Christian churches, with the frequent visits of the Apostles and others to the central and mother church at Jerusalem, it is by no means probable, that an authentic and inspired record of the life of the blessed Jesus should have been published, even for a single year, and the fact not be known to the believers at Jerusalem and many other distant places. If the writers of the Gospels had been merely uninspired Historians, supposing them not to have seen, severally in succession, the Gospels already written, it would naturally have *happened*, and if they had seen the prior accounts, they would probably, like the celebrated biographers of the Athenian sage, have made it their *choice*, to

[1] Grot. in Joan. ii. 11.
[2] John ii. 11.
[3] Ibid. xi. 15.
[4] Ibid. xiv. 1.

relate

relate new and distinct facts and discourses of their Lord; so that, although there had been no disagreement, there would have been little identity, in the several histories. But now, whether the Evangelists did or did not see each others' works, so the fact is, that the three first Gospels are, in great measure, the same; it having seemed good to heavenly wisdom, that we should have a sufficient and indeed an ample number of miracles recorded, in such a manner, that in the mouth of three witnesses every word should be established, rather than that our attention should be distracted by an almost endless variety of facts, each of them related by a single, but credible, historian.

Two objects were in the contemplation, not only of the Evangelists, but generally of all the inspired writers: to benefit, ultimately, by their writings all future ages; but, primarily and chiefly, to warn and instruct their own generation, the persons to whom they immediately addressed themselves. Circumstances therefore of a local and temporary nature constantly give a colour and character to their works; a point, which, if duly attended to, would have prevented innumerable errors in doctrine, as well as mistakes in sacred criticism. Let it then be observed, that we meet with these distinctive traits, not only in the parts which are historical or monitory, but likewise where certainly we should least of all expect them, in the ten Commandments. We know, on St. Paul's authority, where he particularly notices the promise annexed to the fifth commandment, that this promise, as it regards Christians and mankind in general, denotes simply length of days and prosperity [1]. But the promise itself in the decalogue, as delivered to the Israelites, was restricted

[1] Ephes. vi. 3.

to

to Canaan[1], the lot of their inheritance, "the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The Hebrew term, *Sabbath*, adopted thence into most languages, is not a clearer indication, that the precept, in which it occurs, was addressed to the Jews; nor does "*Remember* the Sabbath day" more plainly refer to the ordinance of the Sabbath, already given them, than "the stranger within their gates" does to the mixed multitude of other nations, dwelling among them and subject to them: of whom, in the days of Solomon, the number was more than one hundred and fifty thousand[2]. And had these laws of eternal obligation been first promulgated to other people, or in another country, the meek animal of peace would probably not have been named in them, rather than the generous horse, calculated as he is alike, in most other countries, for purposes of agriculture and peace, as well as to encounter the rage of battle.

Allusions in St. Matthew's Gospel to the service of the temple, admonitions against Jewish customs and prejudices, and other marks, which show that he wrote for the Jews, are so many presumptive arguments, that his was the first and an early Gospel. Many circumstances of this nature have been noticed by Dr. Townson; to which many others may be added. St. Matthew alone refutes the charge of violating the sabbath by an argument drawn from the known custom of the priests: "On the sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the sabbath,

[1] This did not escape the learned and sagacious Selden. "It was spoken, he says, to the Jews with reference to the land of Canaan; but the meaning is, if I honour my parents, God will also bless me. We read the Commandments in the Church-service, as we do David's Psalms; not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does." Seld. Table Talk, art. Sabbath.

[2] See Exod. xii. 38. 2 Chron. ii. 17.

and

and are blameless[1]." He alone warns his readers not to swear "by Jerusalem, the city of the great king[2];" nor "by the altar," nor "by the temple[3]." He denounces wrath against those, that say to their brother, "Raca[4]." He injoins strict obedience to the Scribes and Pharisees, because they "sit in Moses' seat," at the very time when he condemns their pride in loving "to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi;" and forbids the disciples to be so called[5]. In the parable of the servant or steward, appointed over his lord's houshold (which St. Luke has copied from St. Matthew, as many internal marks and improvements evince) he says of the careless servant, his lord "shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the *hypocrites*[6]." St. Luke retains the words and the order of them (and διχοτομησει occurs no where else in the New Testament;) but instead of "*hypocrites*," he says, "with the *unbelievers*[7]." The heavenly Speaker, no doubt, used both terms; and each Evangelist adopted that, which best suited his purpose, St. Matthew as writing among *hypocritical* Jews, and St. Luke among Gentile *unbelievers*. In the parable of the lost sheep, spoken perhaps at Capernaum, St. Matthew represents the owner as "going *into the mountains*," to seek for that which was gone astray[8]. St. Luke, in the corresponding passage, merely says, he "goeth after that which is lost, until he find it[9]."

[1] Matth. xii. 5. [2] Ibid. v. 35.
[3] Ibid. xx. 20, 21. [4] Ibid. v. 22.
[5] Ibid. xxiii. 2, 3. 7, 8. [6] Ibid. xxiv. 51.
[7] Luke, xii. 46. I venture to retain this instance, though I find Dr. Townson had remarked upon it nearly to the same effect: p. 55.
[8] Matth. xviii. 12. Sec. xvii. 24.
[9] Luke xv. 4. He says, "Doth he not leave the ninety and nine in the *wilderness*?" having, before, often mentioned *wildernesses* in Judea: i. 80. iii. 2. iv. 1. v. 16. viii. 29. ix. 10. one of which appears to have been near Capernaum: iv. 42. with 31

St.

St. Matthew alone informs us of the message of Pilate's wife, and of the earthquake at the crucifixion, and at the resurrection; and that the rocks were rent[1], and the graves opened, and "many bodies of saints which slept, arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." He alone informs us, that Joseph of Arimathea laid the blessed body "in *his own* new tomb, which *he had hewn out* in the rock;" and that the chief priests "made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch[2];" with the report of some of the watch concerning the resurrection, and the story, which they were taught to propagate, instead of the truth.

Now though some of these particulars, if separately viewed, may possibly be thought slight circumstances, whereon to found an argument, yet their *collective* force, surely, is not inconsiderable; and will warrant the supposition, that these facts and these speeches were, under the guidance of heaven, committed to writing at the time and in the place, where they were most wanted, and might

[1] Matth. xxvii. 51—53. Maundrell, in his Journey to Jerusalem, p. 73. says, "At about one yard and a half distance from the hole, in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable cleft in the rock, said to have been made by the earthquake, which happened at the suffering of the God of nature. This cleft is about a span wide and two deep; after which it closes: but opens again below, and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth." And "that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instruments." A gentleman of veracity, who was on the spot about thirty years ago, and put his hand down this cleft, has given me a similar account of it.

[2] Matth. xxvii. 60.

have

have most effect; while the persons mentioned or alluded to were, all or most of them, living on the spot, and could attest or confute the things reported; while Jerusalem was still regarded and called "the holy city," and the temple revered as sacred; and not delayed thirty years, till many of the Apostles and eye-witnesses were dead, and the day was now at hand, which should plant the ensigns of abomination in the holy place, lay the city in ruins, and not leave one stone of the temple upon another. Of all the writers of the New Testament the form of Baptism is given by St. Matthew alone, and who can think, that this essential document was not carefully inserted in the first, and that a very early, Gospel, that Christians in general, and particularly the uninspired ministers of the gospel (and such, doubtless, there were almost from the first) might have infallible grounds, not only for the command to make disciples of and baptize all nations, but likewise for the form of words, in which the holy ordinance was to be administered?

This induction (I beg leave to repeat) the candid Reader will consider, not in the minuteness of its constituent parts, but in its accumulated weight and tendency; and that not singly, but in conjunction with many other internal marks pointed out by Dr. Townson, which not only evince the early date of St. Matthew's Gospel, but fix the time of its publication with some precision.

But here it may be necessary to advert to certain objections, which have recently been made to some of those arguments, in a work intitled, "Discursory Considerations on the Hypothesis of Dr. Macknight and others, that St. Luke's Gospel was the first written[1]."

[1] Printed 1808 by and for J. Nichols and Son, Messrs. Rivington, &c. The Author, by whom I have been favoured with a very

And truly sorry I am, that I cannot entirely acquit the worthy Author of some want of fairness and some want of accuracy, in these his animadversions on the work of Dr. Townson. In the very outset of his strictures he says, "Dr. Townson, looking to his Concordances, ascertained the nine repetitions of the word ἡγεμων.—He appears, however, to have looked no further [1]." It had been stated, on the surest evidence, as far as one man can know and rely upon the words of another, that what afforded the Writer upon the Gospels "principal content, in the course of his researches, and upon the final issue of them, was, to find that the internal evidence all along confirmed external testimony [2]." On this Mr. Dunster says, "I venture to consider *that* as his *object*, in his work, which his biographer considers as the *result* of it [3]." And again he speaks of "His zealous *wish* to prove that this was so [4]," and "a *wish* to reconcile the internal evidence, of the Gospels themselves, with the supposed Testimony of the Fathers [5];" and regrets that he was "diverted from the immediate point in question by *previous opinions assumed* under the best of principles [6]."

It is not very candid to advance, without proof, assertions and surmises, such as these, concerning any man; but in the long and deathless list of Divines, who have defended and adorned the Church of England, it would be difficult to name one, in whom there was less ground for any charge of this sort, than in the eminently pious Author of the Discourses on the Gospels. Meek and patient, as

candid letter on communicating to him the substance of the following remarks, is known to be the Rev. Charles Dunster, M. A. Rector of Petworth in Sussex.

[1] Discursory Considerations, p. 25. n.
[2] Life of Dr. Townson, p. xxxiv.
[3] Discurs. Consid. p. 79.
[4] Ibid. p. 82.
[5] Ibid. p. 115.
[6] Ibid. p. 117.

well

well as learned and acute, his theological inquiries were conducted with all possible care and circumspection. He conferred with his friends, personally and by letter, on any difficulties, which occurred, and was most willing to avail himself of their suggestions. He laid his papers aside for months and even for years, that he might examine them again, when the contents of them were no longer "warm from the brain," but in great measure forgotten. He sought for truth and truth alone, well assured that wherever it could be discovered, whether it happened to coincide or not with "previous opinions" of himself or others, it would, in the issue, redound most to the glory of God and the good of mankind.

Of the various instances adduced by Dr. Townson to show, that St. Luke has often quoted St. Matthew and St. Mark, and consequently wrote after them, Mr. Dunster has not attempted to disprove any one, His remarks are confined solely to the Section, in which certain peculiarities in St. Matthew's Gospel are noted as indications, "that he wrote very early[1]." As these arguments, which consist chiefly of an induction of particulars, are (however unintentionally) considerably weakened in the abbreviated form, in which they appear in Mr. Dunster's book, the ingenuous critic will view them as they stand in the original work; and allow me also to offer a few words on what seems most material in Mr. Dunster's observations.

Dr. Townson's two first arguments are founded on these two circumstances, that St. Matthew "alone ascribes those titles of sanctity to *Jerusalem*, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets;" and "testifies also a higher veneration than" the other Evangelists "for the *Temple*." These arguments

[1] Disc. iv. Sect. iii.

Mr. Dunster is "led to answer, somewhat in detail" (with what success the Reader will judge;) and then observes[1], that it was "in fact needless for him thus to do." For "To these two first circumstances, or heads of argument, adduced to prove St. Matthew's early writing, Dr. Townson had before furnished a short, but most satisfactory answer in his account of St. Matthew, in his Preliminary Discourse, p. 23." "We find in St. Matthew the marks of his relation to Galilee, where he had been bred and employed: the style of one who had imbibed and retained the VENERATION of his people for their CITY and TEMPLE." In the "Preliminary Discourse" every point could not be confirmed by examples; and this was one of the points not there exemplified; but it *is exemplified*, in both its parts, in the Section alluded to; and this the Discursor is pleased to call "a short, but most satisfactory answer!" The *enunciation* of a proposition *answered* by the subsequent *demonstration* of it!!

Thirdly, Dr. Townson observes, that from St. Matthew's use of the word "*Gospel*," with some term to point out or limit its meaning, as "The Gospel of the kingdom," "one would judge," that when he wrote, it "was not yet become an appropriate term of the church for the good tidings declared by Christ and his Apostles." Now to this it is no answer, or not a sufficient answer, if St. Mark also once or twice perhaps has the word with some restrictive epithet or circumstance[2]: the peculiarity or ground of contrast is, that he *often* uses the word *simply* by itself[3], and St. Matthew *never*. But when Mr. Dunster observes[4], that "St. Mark has

[1] P. 85. [2] St. Mark i. 14. xiv. 9.

[3] St. Mark i. 15. viii. 35. x. 29. xiii. 10. xvi. 15. And the first verse of his Gospel perhaps may be regarded as a parallel instance.

[4] P. 86.

not

not only the combination *the Gospel of the kingdom*, but has extended it still further to *the Gospel of the kingdom of God*;" if he means, that both those expressions occur in St. Mark's Gospel, I have sought for them there in vain; and if he forms both out of one (i. 14.) there is an ambiguity, or want of precision, in the remark.

A difference has been noted between St. Matthew and the other Evangelists in speaking of our Lord's Apostles, St. Matthew commonly styling them, "The twelve *Disciples*," the others simply, "The Twelve;" which, when they wrote, was become the settled language of the church. Of this familiar use of the appellation I will adduce a single instance, from each of the three later Evangelists, referring to other passages where it occurs, and leave the whole to the judgement of the Reader. St. Mark says, "He calleth unto him *the twelve*[1]:" and this is constantly his mode; so that, speaking of them collectively at least nine times, he never once calls them, "The twelve Disciples," or "Twelve Apostles;" not even when he records their appointment to be our Lord's constant attendants and ministers. St. Luke says, "*The Twelve* were with him[2]." "St. John, "Then Jesus said unto *the Twelve*[3]."

But we have now a more serious charge: "Dr. Townson, I must say, is *not correct* in stating that Mark, "as soon as he has related the death of the Baptist, changes his style, and calls him [St. John the Apostle] only John[4]." The incorrectness how-

[1] St. Mark. vi. 7. The other instances are iii. 14. iv. 10. ix. 35. x. 32. xi. 11. xiv. 10. 20. 43.

[2] Luke viii. 1. He speaks of them collectively not very often, or not with specification of their number. The places are vi. 13. ix. 1. xviii. 31. xxii. 3. 14. 47.

[3] John vi. 67. He very rarely mentions them collectively; "have not I chosen you twelve" (ib. 70.) and "one of the twelve" (ib. 71. and xx. 24.) being, I believe, the only instances.

[4] Discurs. Consid. p. 91.

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ever is in the remarker, not in Dr. Townson; for the very first time St. Mark mentions St. John after the death of the Baptist, is in the passage, to which Dr. Townson refers, namely ix. 2, and there he does call him only John; as he does again in the same chapter, verse 38. "And John answered him." In a subsequent instance (x. 35.) he has "James and John the sons of Zebedee;" not so much perhaps to inform us what John was meant, as to distinguish James (as Mr. Dunster observes) from the other James, the son of Alpheus. Wherever he occurs after this, he calls him simply John: as x. 41. xiii. 3. xiv. 33.

It "is, in Mr. Dunster's judgement, a most extraordinary stretch of imagination [1]" to suppose, that in the newly converted church of the Samaritans there might be persons, whose minds might have been alienated from St. John by the knowledge of the fact, that he "had not long before expressed a strong enmity to their nation, by wishing to command fire from heaven to consume one of their villages;" and that, for this reason probably, St. Matthew omitted to mention the circumstance. But if the learned Author had not overlooked what follows in the same sentence, that "the open enemies, or false friends, of the Gospel, such as Simon Magus, would gladly have seized" such "an opportunity" as this might have given them "of sowing dissensions and raising disturbances among" the brethren, there would have been less occasion for his surprise; nor would he perhaps have deemed the reason assigned for the omission at all marvelous or incredible, if he had duly attended also to the just remark, which follows in the same paragraph: namely, that "The silence of St. Matthew, and the narrative of St. Luke are the more remarkable, as departures from

[1] P. 94.

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the rule, to which they severally adhere, St. Matthew of divulging the failings of the Apostles, and St. Luke of concealing them."

Whether Dr. Townson, as Mr. Dunster supposes, borrowed his argument grounded on St. Matthew's frequent mention of *Governor*, in speaking of Pilate, from Bengelius, or not, I am not able to say; nor is it necessary. The strength of an argument is not increased by its novelty, nor impaired because others have used it before. It is not however to the praise of Mr. Dunster's accuracy, in criticising an Author of established reputation, that he tells us, I scarcely know how often, that the word ἡγεμων occurs *nine* times "in the xxviiith chap. of St. Matthew;" and that "the proper name Pilate occurs exactly as often in this Chapter, as his official description of Governor [1];" which is a double mistake. For though Pilate is mentioned by his name nine times in that chapter, Governor does not occur there so often, the ninth instance being in the following chapter. And if it were admitted, as Mr. Dunster contends, that in two or three of these instances, "the word Governor seems to be used officially, and does not personally relate to Pilate;" and if it were further admitted, that he has sometimes (but not uniformly, as I understand Mr. Dunster to mean) "applied the names alternately to vary the constant repetition of the identical denomination of so principal a person and so frequent a speaker in this great scene;" the question will still recur, why he was thus studious to vary his terms, when St. Luke, a superior master of language, and more attentive to the elegances of it, contented himself, as the other two Evangelists also did, with the unvaried repetition of the name of Pilate; which he uses as often as St. Matthew does, St. Mark oftener, and St. John no less

[1] 25, 26. 96.

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than twenty times. It will be difficult therefore, as it seems, to devise a better and more satisfactory reason, why St. Matthew alone has used the word Governor, and that so frequently, as synonymous with Pilate, than what Dr. Townson, after Bengelius [1] (and from him, if you please) has assigned, that Pilate was still Governor, when St. Matthew wrote his Gospel.

It will not, I hope, be thought, that I have dwelt too long on these strictures of Mr. Dunster; the subject, doubtless, is interesting and important; and truth alone is the object of us both. I pass over his frequent assertions, that St. Luke was the earliest writer, and had fully described this or that fact, and that St. Matthew therefore entirely omitted it, or briefly glanced at it. Of these assertions every one will judge, as he deems the hypothesis sufficiently proved or otherwise.

But there is still one passage, respecting Dr. Townson's work, which calls for notice. He has remarked of St. Matthew, most truly, as any one will see on comparing him with the other Evangelists, that "in a certain masterly way" he "gives the essential circumstances of our Lord's miracles; but is the least distinct and particular in reciting them. And judged perhaps, that the notoriety of these recent miracles did not then require a minuter description [2]." But Mr. Dunster says, this "positively indicates St. Matthew to have been a secondary Writer; this "masterly way of reciting essen-

[1] It is not my business to defend Bengelius; but surely this frequent use of the term Governor, throughout this part of St. Matthew's Gospel, is sufficient to justify the remark of that critic, "ἡγεμονος titulus—in historia passionis a Matthæo *constanter tribuitur* Pilato," which Mr. Dunster says, "is, clearly, an egregious blunder." p. 26.

[2] Disc. iv. Sect. iii. §. 10.

tials"

tials" being, in truth, abridging well known accounts of recorded facts[1]." And in a subsequent part of his work he argues thus:

As St. Luke's "primary object appears to be the *Facts*, upon which the authority of the *Doctrines* rests; while the more immediate object of St. Matthew may fairly be stated to be the *Doctrines*;" therefore, "on the principle that a foundation is prior to a superstructure, I cannot but consider St. Luke, thus minutely attentive to these most important Facts on which the Doctrines rest, as indicating himself to be the *earliest Writer*: and I consider St. Matthew, thus exuberant in Doctrines, while *sparing* and compressive in Facts, as a *subsequent Writer*, trusting in a certain degree to the foundation so amply laid by St. Luke, the previous writer[2]."

Now admitting the case as here stated, it may well be questioned, whether the very reverse is not the true conclusion to be drawn from it. Facts are more easily remembered than words. The servants of the king of Syria had witnessed, at most, only one miracle of Elisha, the healing of the leprosy of Naaman, when they said to the king their master, "Elisha the prophet, that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber[3]." If St. Matthew wrote in Judea, as is agreed on all hands, and within a few years of the Ascension, as has generally been supposed, there was not one of his first readers, who had not heard of, and very few who had not seen, some of our

[1] P. 97. He is not however very consistent on this point: for he says afterwards, p. 105. "The Evangelists—*by no means* abridged, or transcribed the writings of the others."

[2] Discurs. Consid. p. 113.

[3] 2 Kings, vi. 12.

Lord's

Lord's miracles, the reality of which his very enemies admitted.

It was sufficient, if a writer, so circumstanced, stated his facts succinctly; but since the facts or miracles had not, of themselves, produced conviction, the great object was to deliver accurately and at large the doctrines and discourses, and to enforce the argument from prophecy, which afforded a clear demonstration, that our Lord did not, as the Jews constantly alleged against him, oppose Moses and the prophets, but was the very person, whom they foretold and described.

On the contrary an Evangelist, writing at a later period, and in a country remote from Judea, where the miracles were performed, would feel it incumbent upon him, if not to be more copious in facts, at least to relate them more circumstantially, that those who had not seen, might yet believe [1].

I deceive myself greatly, if an impartial reader, considering the matter carefully, will not deem this view of the subject, and these inferences from Mr. Dunster's premises, altogether as probable as those which he has drawn.

But let us recur, for a moment, to the case itself. St. Luke's "primary object" is "Facts," St. Matthew's is "Doctrines;" or, as it had before been stated, St. Luke is "studious to bring forward every Fact;" and St. Matthew "abounds, proportionately, more in Doctrines [2]." By "Facts," I presume, we are to understand Miracles, since "the authority of

[1] What has been said, by no mean judge, of human eloquence, is not inapplicable to inspired narration: "Est probabilius quod gestum esse dicas, cum quemadmodum actum sit exponas." Cic. de Orat. L. ii. 80.

[2] P. 112.

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the Doctrines," it is said, " rests upon them;" and we expect, from this account, to find a greater number of miracles recorded by St. Luke, than by St. Matthew. But now, upon actual enumeration of the miracles in St. Matthew and St. Luke, though some perhaps might reckon one or two more, or one or two less, there appear to be just as many in one as in the other, twenty-three in each; some of them related by each Evangelist singly, but the greater part common to both[1]. When to this we add, as we are on every account bound to add, the intimations or rather declarations of numberless miracles wrought by our Lord, but not particularly recorded[2]; and when we observe, that the declarations of this sort are not less frequent, and even more emphatic, in St. Matthew's Gospel, than they are in St. Luke's, I cannot but consider the notion or position, that St. Luke abounds in facts more than St. Matthew, as totally groundless; the only and that indeed a very striking difference between the two being that already noted from Dr. Townson, that St. Matthew is succinct, and St. Luke circumstantial, in the recital of facts; but whether the reason of St. Matthew's succinctness

[1] I reckon twenty-one miracles in St. Mark, and ten in St. John. What may be the entire number of *distinct* miracles in the four Gospels, I have not thought it necessary to examine. Toinard makes them Forty-seven.

[2] As these declarations, concerning the number and effects of our Lord's miracles, are, in many respects, highly important, and were particularly so in a Gospel published early in Judea, by enlarging the field for detection, had the assertions not been true, I will refer to the principal passages, where they occur. In Matth. iv. 23—25. we read, that " Jesus went about all Galilee—healing all manner of sickness—and his fame went throughout all Syria." Add, viii. 16. ix. 35. x. 1. xi. 5. 20—23. xii. 15. xiii. 58. xiv. 2. xv. 30, 31. xix. 2. xxi. 14. xxiii. 37. In St. Luke see iv. 23. 40, 41. v. 15. vi. 17—19. vii. 21. viii. 2. ix. 1. 6. 11. x. 9. 17. 13. 15. xxiv. 19. The instances are about a dozen in each. In St. Mark see i. 32. 34. 39. iii. 10, 11. vi. 5. 14. 56. In St. John, vi. 2. vii. 31. x. 32. xi. 47. xii. 37. xx. 30. xxi. 25.

was

was because he was relating *recent* events, and among persons, who, in general, knew them already, or because he was framing an abridgement of St. Luke, is a point to be determined by other circumstances. Of an abridgement, certainly, St. Matthew's Gospel has little appearance, being in fact nearly as long as St. Luke's [1], and having no small portion of matter not found in the other; and as truth for the most part is prior to error, the general voice of antiquity, declaring St. Matthew's the first written Gospel, should not be disregarded. Another circumstance, decisive of the question, is the internal evidence that St. Luke has often quoted St. Matthew; because, in the parallel passages of the two, the variations in St. Luke are uniformly improvements, not in the graces of language, of which neither perhaps was studious, but in the useful qualities of perspicuity, propriety, and order. Some examples of this shall presently be given, in addition to those, neither few nor short, which have been produced by Dr. Townson [2].

It is not a little remarkable, how extremely unwilling learned men appear to be to allow, that an inspired Evangelist has, in any instance, quoted another Evangelist, who was equally inspired; while it is at the same time admitted, and even contended, that they may, one and all, or at least the three first of them, have borrowed half their Gospels from some unknown private source, some common document, or from an indefinite number of such; which, if they ever existed, are no longer in being, but vanished from the earth in the first ages. As to the

[1] In a 12mo edition of the Greek Testament, unbroken with chapters, verses, and contents, St. Luke's Gospel occupies 76 pages, and St. Matthew 72.

[2] See. Disc. Third, Sect. iii. Disc. Fourth, Sect. ii. and consider well the principles and conclusions in Sect. v. vi. of Disc. Third.

reluctance

reluctance of admitting, what seems to be an incontestable fact, that the Evangelists did often quote each other, this will perhaps cease or abate, when it is seen that the practice of the historians of the Old Testament was perfectly the same. In the mean time, with regard to such memoirs of our blessed Lord, as were compiled by private Christians, let it be observed, that St. Luke, who alludes to such narratives, gives no intimation whatsoever, that he was indebted to them for any part of his information; his words, on the contrary, manifestly imply, that his "perfect understanding of every thing" rested on better authority. He does not however, as has been hastily said, "speak of his own work as necessary, *because* many had attempted to digest the facts, but so imperfectly, that without this further assistance, his friend Theophilus could not be certainly assured of the truth of what he had learned[1]." This is plainly not his meaning; for, as it has been more accurately observed, he does not "censure but commend these writers;" and "in some sort classes himself with them, and justifies his own undertaking by their example, in saying, "It seemed good to me *also*." Had he judged them to have miscarried, he would rather have said, "It seemed good to me *therefore* to treat of this subject[2]."

The promise of our blessed Lord to his Apostles was, that "The Spirit of truth should guide them into all [the] truth;" and "teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever he had said unto them[3]." This holy promise was assuredly made good, in its full extent, to St. Matthew and St. John, two of the Apostles; and though St. Mark and St. Luke were not of that

[1] Brit. Crit. July 1809. p. 38.
[2] Dr. Townson on the Gospels, p. 212.
[3] John xvi. 13. xiv. 26.

number,

number, nor probably eye-witnesses of what they relate, yet who can doubt, but they were endowed with equivalent gifts; and, being also assisted, one by St. Peter and the other by St. Paul (who was taught the gospel by immediate revelation from Christ[1]) were abundantly qualified to do the work of an Evangelist, and make full proof of their ministry? Could writers, under such circumstances, possibly stand in need of, and would they condescend to use, private memorials, which, however credible or consistent with truth, were unauthentic? Who will conjecture, when he can prove? who will speak with the fallible voice of man, when he is armed with the demonstration and power of the Holy Ghost?

Unwilling, as it seems, and with good reason, to admit "the necessity of recurring to any common source," and desirous also "to preclude the idea of copying," Mr. Dunster espouses another hypothesis; which he thinks accounts for the "similarity in so many passages of the three first Gospels, in a manner sufficiently satisfactory." This is the hypothesis of Dr. Macknight, in which chance is the prime, or rather the sole, agent. "Many thousands of people," as Dr. Macknight says in Mr. Dunster's page, "must have been eye and ear witnesses of what our Lord said and did.—Twelve persons, called Apostles, constantly attended him;"—and "there were other seventy also, who were frequently with him.—And upwards of five hundred brethren saw him and conversed with him after his resurrection. All these marked with the utmost veneration the words which he spake, and the actions which he performed, treasuring them up in their memories with care.—The history of Jesus—made the principal subject of their discourses in the public assemblies, and of their conversations in private meetings.—So

[1] Gal. i. 12.

—that

—that we may believe there was not among the first Christians a single person, arrived at any degree of age or consideration, who had not heard all the important articles of our Lord's history repeated perhaps above a thousand times. And therefore they must all of them have been perfectly well acquainted with his history; perhaps more fully than we can be, who in this remote age draw our knowledge of Jesus from the short commentaries of the Evangelists, wherein are recorded not the hundredth part perhaps of his sermons and miracles. *This circumstance* deserves the rather to be taken notice of, as it *shows clearly* how four different historians, giving an account of our Lord's transactions, especially his sermons, have *happened* to deliver them almost precisely in the same words. They were the only interesting subjects of conversation among Christians. To remember the words of the Lord Jesus, and to meditate upon them, was the great business of his followers."

The premises here may, most of them, be allowed; but the conclusion drawn from them is wonderful. The Roman philosopher regarded it as incredible, that the letters of the alphabet, casually thrown together, should produce a single verse of a regular poem [1]; but here a process altogether similar is the parent of historic narration. Out of the rich and inexhaustible materials lying before them, three distinct writers, unacquainted (as is here supposed) with each other's design, select in the proportion of less than one fact out of a hundred; and yet nine times in ten they *happen* to fix upon precisely *the same fact;* and they *happen* also, nine times in ten, to relate it, or some material circumstances of it, precisely *in the same words,* and *in the same order* of words. Does this need any serious refutation?

[1] De Nat. Deor. ii. xxxvii.

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The province of the sacred Historians of our Lord was, to record his speeches at length, or to frame abridgements of them; as seemed best to their own judgement, under the guidance of their heavenly Director. They had also to translate these his discourses into another language, a language abounding with synonymous terms, and admitting great variety of arrangement. Under such circumstances no three writers or speakers, however faithfully they may record one and the same speech, will deliver it exactly in the same words, and in the same order; nor will even one and the same individual, relating the same fact or speech two or three times, strictly adhere to the same words and same order, unless perhaps (if such occur) in one or two remarkable expressions, or proverbial phrases. St. Paul, no doubt, had often related, to St. Luke and to others, his own miraculous conversion: he certainly himself perfectly well remembered what was said, and seen, and done, in that signal display of heavenly glory and transcendent mercy. Observe then, with what variation of words and order it is related, once by St. Luke, and twice by St. Paul, in the book of Acts.

Acts ix. 1—7.	xxii. 5—10.	xxvi. 12—16.
And Saul——		
	As also the high priest *doth bear me witness, and all*	*As I went to Damascus, with authority and commission*
went unto the high priest, *And desired of* him	the estate of the elders: from whom *also I received*	*from the* chief priests,
letters *to Damascus, to the synagogues*—	letters unto the brethren, *and went to Damascus,*— *And it came to pass, that*	
And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus,	*as I journeyed, and came near to Damascus,* about noon,	at mid day, *O king, I saw in the way* a light from heaven,
and suddenly there shone round about him	*suddenly* from heaven *there shone a great light*	*above the brightness of the sun, shine round about me,*

(Acts ix.)	(xxii.)	(xxvi.)
a light from heaven.	*round about me.*	*and them which journeyed with me.*
And when he had fallen to the earth, *he heard a voice, saying to him,*	*And I fell to the* ground, *And heard a voice saying to me,*	*And when we were* all fallen *to the* earth, *I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue,*
Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?	*Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*	*Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.*
And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus,	*And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus of Nazareth,*	*And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus,*
whom thou persecutest. It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.	*whom thou persecutest.*	*whom thou persecutest.*
	And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice *of him that spake to me.*	
And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?	*And I said, What shall I do, Lord?*	
Then the Lord [*said*] *to him, Arise,*	*And the Lord said to me, Having arisen,*	*But arise, and stand upon thy feet;*
and enter into the city, and it shall be told to thee what thou must do.	*go into Damascus, and there to thee it shall be told of all things, which it is appointed for thee to do.*	
		for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, &c.
And the men that journeyed with him stood *speechless,* hearing a voice, *but seeing no man*[1].		

[1] There are similar variations in the account of the conversion of Cornelius, which also is summarily related three times in the book

Now as these three narratives are, without doubt, true and faithful reports of this heavenly vision, each consistent with itself and with the other two, though varying in many respects from each other, involving also one or two nearer approaches to a seeming repugnance or contradiction, than will easily be found in other parts of Scripture; who shall say, that if a miracle or discourse of our blessed Lord had been recorded, by two or more Evangelists, with similar variety of words and circumstances, it would not, in like manner, have been faithfully and accurately related, by one and by all? And who shall say, when we do find a fact or a speech related, by two or more Evangelists, without such variety, with a perfect concurrence and identity of order and of words, continued through several sentences, or one entire sentence, or considerable branch of a sentence; with only some slight alterations, or improvements, to suit the particular views of the respective writers; who shall say, that, in this case, one did not copy the other, as surely as when they professedly quote a passage from the Old Testament; in which case the agreement between the copy and the original is seldom more exact, than is often found between parallel passages in the different Evangelists?

It is not necessary here to give directions, how, in such cases, we may determine which writer led

of Acts; once by the historian, once by Cornelius, and once by St. Peter. I will quote a single sentence of each: "And now send *men* to Joppa, and *send for* Simon, who is called Peter: he lodgeth with *one* Simon a tanner, whose house is by the sea side; he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do." x. 5, 6. "Send therefore to Joppa, and *call for* Simon, who is called Peter: he lodgeth *in the house* of Simon a tanner, by the sea side; who *when he cometh* shall speak unto thee." x. 32. "Send men to Joppa, and send for Simon called Peter; who shall tell thee *words*, whereby thou *and all thy house shall be saved*." xi. 13, 14. Compare also x. 4. with 31. and x. 11—16. with xi. 5—10.

the

the way, and which followed. The internal marks, which are often, but not always, apparent in the passages themselves, will generally lead the reader, conversant in sound criticism, to the true conclusion; especially if he avails himself of the very just observations offered on the subject in the Discourses on the Gospels [1]. But as I have, in a course of years, chiefly by the aid of Mons. Toinard's Harmony, a work of immense labour and accuracy, but extremely scarce, noted not so few as threescore passages in the Gospels, in which, as it seems, the fact of quotation must be admitted—at least till the common document, which they all transcribed, shall be produced, I will beg leave to subjoin a few instances; and here conclude these preliminary remarks, which have already led me far beyond my wishes, but not further, I hope, than the occasion will justify.

1. §. Matth. vii. 3—5.

And why beholdest thou the mote
that is in thy brother's eye,
but considerest not the beam
that is in thine eye?
Or how wilt thou say
to thy brother,
Let me cast out the mote
out of thine eye;
and lo, there is a beam
in thine eye.
Thou hypocrite, cast out first
the beam out of thine eye;
and then thou shalt see clearly
to cast out the mote
out of thy brother's eye.

Luke vi. 41, 42.

And why beholdest thou the mote
that is in thy brother's eye,
but considerest not the beam
that is in thine own *eye?*
Or how canst thou say
to thy brother, Brother,
let me cast out the mote
that is in thine eye,
thou thyself not beholding the beam
in thine eye.
Thou hypocrite, cast out first
the beam out of thine eye;
and then thou shalt see clearly
to cast out the mote
that is in thy brother's eye.

The two passages are almost *verbatim* the same; but there are one or two alterations, in the original words of St. Luke, so easy and proper, that St. Mat-

[1] Disc. iii. Sect. vi.

thew, if he had seen, would probably have retained them.

2. §. The healing of the Centurion's servant at Capernaum is recorded by St. Matthew (viii. 5—13.) and by St. Luke (vii. 2—10.) The appropriate warning of our blessed Lord, on this occasion, to the Jews, "the children of the kingdom," is naturally omitted by St. Luke, adapting his Gospel peculiarly to the use of the Gentiles; and he also defers the prediction of the coming in of the Gentiles, meaning to introduce the same or a similar declaration in a subsequent part of his Gospel (xiii. 29.) But each narrative here, besides one or two short identical clauses, contains the following passages:

Matth. viii. 8, 9.	Luke vii. 7, 8.
But only say a word, and my servant shall be healed.	*But say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.*
For I also am a man under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.	*For I also am a man* set *under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh: and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.*

Now as these passages, if not perfectly, are very nearly, the same[1] in both Evangelists, which of the two, may we believe, saw and copied the other? If the many new circumstances, thrown into the account by St. Luke, can leave any doubt of St. Matthew's priority, might not this alone determine the

[1] Poinard gives them as *verbatim* the same, after the word, μονον, but I find no authority for *set*, ταστομενος, in St. Matthew; which was probably the easy and useful addition of St. Luke. Mill mentions forty MSS. which exhibit the first words in St. Matthew, not ειπε λογω, as commonly printed, but ειπε λογῳ, as in St. Luke.

point?

point? It was customary with the Jews to address the messenger, as if he was the person, whom he represented[1]; and, accordingly, St. Matthew here speaks, as if the Centurion in person intreated our Lord to heal his servant, and personally received the gracious answer, "I will come and heal him." But would he have used this peculiar mode of narration, if he was abridging St. Luke, who had told the plain literal fact, that the modest Centurion, not thinking himself worthy to come to our Lord, sent the elders of the Jews to intercede for him?

3. §. In the miracle of healing a man sick of the palsy, St. Mark and St. Luke have many circumstances, which are not in St. Matthew; and the three have several clauses nearly the same; particularly the following:

Matth. ix. 6.	Mark ii. 10, 11.	Luke v. 24.
But that ye may know, that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then he saith to the paralytic)	*But that ye may know, that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he saith to the paralytic)*	*But that ye may know, that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he said to the sick of the palsy)*
	I say unto thee,	*I say unto thee,*
Arise, take up thy couch, and	*Arise, take up thy bed, and*	*Arise, and having taken up thy couch,*
depart to thy house.	*depart to thy house.*	*go to thy house.*

Of these three sentences, so minutely corresponding, even to the parenthesis, who will hesitate to pronounce, that two were manifestly copied from the other? In the first part the words are precisely the same; but as the original words in St. Matthew and St. Mark might mean, "Hath power to forgive sins on earth," St. Luke, by an easy variation in the order, has more clearly expressed the sense given

[1] See 1 Sam. xxv. 40, 41. Exod. xviii. 6, 7. and other passages referred to by the Commentators on St. Matth. viii. 5. &c.

in

in our translation; which, no doubt, they all intended. And as *paralytic* was perhaps applicable to past or present malady, "the beloved physician," whose accuracy in the use of medical terms has often been noted, has substituted another word, παραλελυμενος, denoting perhaps more certainly the continuance of the disease: and he uses the same word also, for the same disorder, twice in the book of Acts: viii. 7. ix. 33.

St. Mark, writing at Rome, expresses the couch by a term, κραββατον, which, whether of Greek or Roman origin, was familiar to the Romans; and St. Luke also has it in the Acts (v. 15. ix. 33.) but not here.

4. §. Matth. xi. 20—24.

Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not.

Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, *It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement, than for you.*

And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day.

But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement, than for thee.

Luke x. 12—15.

But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting *in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement, than for you.*

And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell.

He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.

Here

Here we have three entire verses almost *verbatim* the same in the two Evangelists; except that St. Luke, by introducing the word "*sitting* in sackcloth and ashes," has rendered the matter more intelligible to those, who were less acquainted with the Jewish custom of putting on sackcloth, and sitting in ashes, in token of solemn fasting and humiliation.

It is also to be observed, that the passage stands in a later part of St. Luke's Gospel, where he relates the appointment of the seventy disciples. Whether the words were actually spoken on two different occasions by our blessed Lord, it may not perhaps be very easy to determine. If they were spoken once only, and are here inserted by St. Luke solely on account of the affinity of matter, that, no doubt, is the reason, why he omits, "I say unto you," in verse 13; knowing that the words were not really spoken to the Seventy, though a kindred admonition did actually form a part of our Lord's address to them.

5. §. Matth. xi. 25, 26, 27.

At that time Jesus answered and said,
I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.
Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight.
All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.

Luke x. 21, 22.

In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said,
I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.
Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight.
All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.

These

These parallels, again, stand in different parts of the respective Gospels; in St. Matthew, on the return of the twelve Apostles; in St. Luke, on the return of the Seventy, whose appointment and mission he alone records. If the blessed Redeemer, on both occasions, gave thanks to his heavenly Father, in the same words, or to the same effect, no law of truth compelled two distinct writers to translate the speech into another language, precisely in the same words, and to place them in the same order. And the variations in the second verse of St. Luke are so easy, and make the sense so clear and emphatic, that, as we have already observed in another instance, St. Matthew, with that Gospel before him, would probably have retained them.

6. §. Matth. xii. 27, 28.	Luke xi. 19, 20.
And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.	*If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore* your judges they shall be.
But if I by the Spirit *of God cast out devils, then the kingdom of God is come upon you.*	*But if I by the* finger *of God cast out devils, then the kingdom of God is come upon you.*
ib. 39—42.	ib. 29—32.
But he answered, and said to them, An evil and adulterous *generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet.*	*And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say, This is an evil generation, they seek after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet.*
For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.	*For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.*
The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgement with	*The queen of the south shall rise up in judgement with*

this

this generation,
and shall condemn it; for
they repented at the
preaching of Jonas; and
behold, a greater than Jonas
is here.

The queen of the south shall
rise up in judgement with
this generation,
and shall condemn it; for
she came from the ends of
the earth, to hear the wisdom
of Solomon; and behold,
a greater than Solomon
is here.

the men *of this generation,*
and shall condemn them; for
she came from the ends of
the earth, to hear the wisdom
of Solomon; and behold,
a greater than Solomon
is here.

The men of Nineveh shall
rise up in judgement with
this generation,
and shall condemn it; for
they repented at the
preaching of Jonas; and
behold, a greater than Jonas
is here.

ib. 43—45.

When the unclean spirit is
gone out of a man, he walketh
through dry places, seeking rest,
and findeth it not.

Then he saith, I will return
to my house, whence I came out:
and when he is come, he
findeth it empty, *swept,*
and garnished.

Then he goeth, and taketh
with himself seven other spirits,
more wicked than himself,
and having entered in they
dwell there: and the last state
of that man is worse than
the first. So shall it be also
unto this evil generation.

ib. 24—26.

When the unclean spirit is
gone out of a man, he walketh
through dry places, seeking rest,
and finding it not,
he saith, I will return
to my house, whence I came out:
and when he is come, he
findeth it swept,
and garnished.

Then he goeth, and taketh
seven other spirits,
more wicked than himself,
and having entered in they
dwell there: and the last state
of that man is worse than
the first.

In these passages, though differently disposed and connected in the two Gospels, there is great similarity, or rather identity, in many parts. In the 19th verse, St. Luke, by changing the position of a single word, αυτοι, has increased the emphasis, without diminishing the ease and propriety of the clause. He drops the term, *adulterous*, probably because spiritual whoredom, the desertion of God who had espoused to himself his covenanted people, was a notion not familiar to the Gentiles. And for a similar reason,

reason, as Dr. Townson has observed [1], he has omitted the sign of the prophet Jonas as typical of our Lord's death and resurrection; which omission perhaps induced the difference of order, which, reversed in each, seems in each most proper. In the third passage the concluding application to the Jews is naturally omitted by St. Luke, in writing to the Gentiles.

7. §. Matth. xix. 13—15.	Mark x. 13—16.	Luke xviii. 15—17.
Then were there brought	*And they brought*	*And they brought*
to him little children,	*to him little children,*	*to him also infants,*
that he should	*that he should*	*that he should*
put his hands on them,	*touch them.*	*touch them.*
and pray.		
		And when
And the disciples	*And the disciples*	*the disciples saw it,*
rebuked them.	*rebuked those that*	*they rebuked them.*
	brought them.	
But Jesus	*But when Jesus saw it,*	*But Jesus*
	he was much displeased,	
		called them to him,
said,	*and said to them,*	*and said,*
Suffer the little children,	*Suffer the little children*	*Suffer the little children*
	to come unto me,	*to come to me,*
and forbid them not	*and forbid them not;*	*and forbid them not;*
to come unto me;		
for of such is	*for of such is*	*for of such is*
the kingdom of heaven.	*the kingdom of God.*	*the kingdom of God.*
	Verily I say unto you,	*Verily I say unto you,*
	whosoever shall not	*whosoever shall not*
	receive the kingdom	*receive the kingdom*
	of God as a little child,	*of God as a little child,*
	he shall not enter therein.	*he shall not enter therein.*
	And he took them up	
	in his arms,	
And he put his hands upon	*put his hands upon them,*	
them, and departed	*and blessed them.*	
thence.		

St. Mark, as usual with him, has here enlarged upon St. Matthew; and St. Luke follows him, where he may seem to have improved the order of

[1] P. 183.

words;

words; and continues on *verbatim*, with him, the speech of our blessed Lord; but stops short at the affecting circumstance, naturally recorded by St. Mark, under the direction of St. Peter, an eye-witness, that our Lord "took the little children up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."

8. §. Matth. xix. 27—30.	Mark x. 28—31.	Luke xviii. 28—30.
Then answered Peter, and said unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?	*And Peter began to say to him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee.*	*And Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee.*
And Jesus said to them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.	*And Jesus answered, and said, Verily I say unto you,*	*And he said to them, Verily I say unto you,*
And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or fathers, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold,	*there is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, but shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecution,*	*there is no man that hath left house, or parents, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this time.*
and shall inherit everlasting life.	*and in the world to come everlasting life.*	*and in the world to come, everlasting life.*
But many that are first, shall be last; and the last, first.	*But many that are first, shall be last; and the last, first.*	

There can be little doubt here, that St. Mark had seen St. Matthew's Gospel, and that St. Luke had seen

seen both. The two striking omissions in St. Mark are both probably to be ascribed to his spiritual father and director, St. Peter; who, as a married man, had been preserved from the hard trial of leaving his "wife," for the sake of the gospel[1]; and, as an Apostle, with the true humility, which has often been noted in him after his sad fall, forbore to mention the promise made to the Apostles, that they should "sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." But then St. Luke, who, not being of the number of the Twelve, had not the same plea of modesty for suppressing the circumstance, has omitted it for another reason; because he meant to record, and has recorded, a similar promise made to the Apostles by our Lord, the night before he suffered. Luke xxii. 28—30.

9. §. Matthew xxi. 1—9. Mark xi. 1—10. Luke xix. 29—38.

The triumphant approach of our blessed Lord to Jerusalem is related, with great similarity and many identical expressions, by the three Evangelists; each in succession omitting some things already told, and adding some to the account of his predecessors. St. Matthew, who throughout his Gospel, as has been observed of him[2], makes frequent use of the argument from prophecy, reminds the "daughter of Sion," on this occasion, that she had been instructed by the prophet, that her "King should come unto her, sitting upon an ass, and a

[1] That St. Peter was married is well known from our Lord's miracle in healing his wife's mother of a fever, which is related by the three (Matth. viii. 14. Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.) with great similarity, but by St. Mark with some peculiar marks of St. Peter's modesty (as that the house, which St. Matthew and St. Luke call Peter's, belonged to Andrew as well as himself, &c.) and that his faithful partner long survived the Ascension, and did not desert her husband in his apostolical labours, may be inferred with probability from what St. Paul says, 1 Cor. ix. 5.

[2] Dr. Townson, Disc. iv. Sect. v. 3. §.

colt,

colt, the foal of an ass." This prediction St. Mark and St. Luke, on their different plans, naturally omit. But St. Mark, from the ocular testimony of St. Peter, minutely describes the situation where they found the ass, "tied at a door without, in a place where two ways met." St. Luke, who was not a spectator, passes over this circumstance; informing us however, that those who questioned the disciples, as to what they were about, were the "owners" of the colt: and that it was at the descent of the mount of Olives, that the acclamations of our Lord's attendants and of the whole multitude began.

St. Matthew mentions an ass tied and a colt with her; and if, as his narrative seems to import, the holy Redeemer sat on each by turns, the prophecy of Zechariah, which he quotes, would appear to have a more minutely literal accomplishment. But if the chief design of St. Mark and St. Luke was to shew our blessed Lord's meekness of majesty, at the very time when he came as the Son of David, and King of Israel, perhaps this his princely and peerless humility was most strikingly displayed, by riding on a young ass, whereon never man had sat; and therefore they mention the colt only.

St. John (xii. 12—18.) glances very rapidly at these transactions; and yet it is memorable, how much, in a few words, he has added to the former accounts, without appearing to notice them. We learn from the Three, that many strewed branches of trees in the way, and that the whole multitude, those before, and those that followed, hailed him with Hosannas. St. John says, a great multitude of those that were come to the feast, went out purposely to *meet* him; taking with them branches of *palm*, the appropriate badge of victory and joy.

"Having

"Having found" or procured (εὑρων) a young ass (—in the manner well known from the former Gospels) he sat thereon, thus fulfilling the prophecy, of which he quotes a few words, not simply to point out its accomplishment, as Christians were by this time well acquainted with the writings of the prophets: but for the sake of remarking, that the disciples, at the time, did not understand these things, but that after the Ascension, then they remembered both the Scripture itself, and its completion; one instance, among many, of things brought to their recollection by the promised gift of the Holy Ghost. St. John also connects the procession of the people, and their testimony and rejoicings, with the raising of Lazarus, which he alone has recorded; and informs us, that because they had heard of that great miracle, they "went forth to meet him."

THE

QUOTATIONS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

CONSIDERED,

IN

A SERMON,

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD,

AT ST. MARY'S, MAY 31, 1807.

BY

RALPH CHURTON, M. A.

RECTOR OF MIDDLETON CHENEY IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
ARCHDEACON OF ST DAVID'S,
AND LATE FELLOW OF BRASEN NOSE COLLEGE.

A SERMON.

ROM. xv. 4.

WHATSOEVER THINGS WERE WRITTEN AFORETIME, WERE WRITTEN FOR OUR LEARNING.

IT is observed of the works of creation, that the more they are examined and the better they are understood, the more they set forth the wisdom and goodness of the divine Creator. View them in the whole, or in their component parts, consider them by themselves or in relation to each other, and there is no defect or deformity in them; they serve the purposes, for which they were made; and are, each in their time and place, as they were at first pronounced to be, "very good."

What is true of the volume of nature, the immediate work of God's hand, is equally true of the written word, the volume of the book, which he inspired. It challenges and rewards patient investigation. The more we know, the more we shall admire; and if the matter and facts, as most important, engage our chief attention, the manner will not be found unworthy of regard. To the one and to the other, and to the Old and the New Testament and their several parts, we may safely apply the declaration of the Apostle: "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written," and *so* written,

"for our learning," that we might be steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and wise unto salvation.

On a transient inspection of the sacred Scriptures it may seem remarkable, that the holy writers of them so seldom quote or refer to each other's works. The succession of prophets, who followed Moses, do indeed constantly and expressly appeal to the writings of Moses, as to the law and to the testimony, on which the whole polity and system of the moral and religious duties of the chosen people were founded: and our blessed Lord and his Apostles appeal, in like manner, to Moses and the prophets; for the first and second covenant were necessarily connected, and the one foreshowed and was introductory to the other. But over and above these as it were unavoidable quotations, by way of authority or proof, it is not perhaps in general supposed, that any of the inspired writers, of either Testament, have at all quoted the other writers, whether anterior or contemporary, whose works are contained in the same volume. The fact, I believe, on closer examination, will be found to stand thus: The holy Bible abounds in quotations, even more perhaps than most other books; but they are introduced in a way which is peculiar to revelation and its own. When a prophet or Apostle mentions one of his own holy brethren, as when Ezekiel names Daniel, or Daniel Jeremiah; when St. Peter speaks of Paul, or Paul of Peter, or of Luke the physician; *when they mention them, they do not quote them; and when they quote them, they do not mention them* [1].

[1] *Exceptio probat regulam.* "Micah the Morasthite" is quoted in the book of Jeremiah (xxvi. 18.) but it is not by the prophet himself, but by "certain of the elders of the land." See Mic. iii. 12. Daniel is mentioned by Ezekiel, chap. xiv. 14, &c. xxviii. 3. Jeremiah by Daniel, chap. ix. 2. and likewise 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. xxxvi. 12. 21, 22. Ezra i. 1. And on this ground of mentioning and not quoting, it may perhaps be questioned, whether, when

It shall be my endeavour, in this discourse, to ascertain and illustrate what is thus stated, respecting the Scriptural quotations; after which I will conclude with a reflection or two, arising from the subject.

And here, as we mean to limit our inquiry to the Old Testament, and principally to the historical books, in which these quotations are chiefly found, it would facilitate the research, if it were known by whom those books, and the distinct parts of them, were severally written. This being uncertain, it is the more necessary, that the instances to be adduced, though as short as possible, be more in number, than might otherwise suffice.

We begin however with an example, where there is no such doubt. The book of Joshua was written by the gallant chief, whose name it bears; and the book of Judges by some of the elders that outlived Joshua, or by their successors, one or more. The conqueror of Canaan informs us, how Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, as strong for war when he was fourscore and five, as he had been when he was

when we read, 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. that the mournful strains of Jeremiah on the death of Josiah "are written in the Lamentations," it is not more reasonable to suppose, with Josephus, that the reference is to the book of Lamentations, than that any work of so great a prophet as Jeremiah, thus referred to, should have been lost. Certainly the affectionate terms, "the breath of our nostrils" &c. (Lam. iv. 20.) are more likely to have been spoken of such a prince as Josiah, than of the wicked and persecuting Zedekiah. But there is perhaps nothing improbable in the supposition, that the lamentations, poured forth on the defeat and death of Josiah, may have been remodeled and adapted by the author to the heavier state of distress and calamity, when Jerusalem was taken, and "her king and her princes" were captive "among the Gentiles" (ii. 9.) to which state of misery and desolation, the whole book, as we now have it, seems best suited. But these disquisitions are not necessary to our present purpose.

forty [1], took possession of Hebron, his alloted portion among the children of Judah [2]. The author of the book of Judges relates the same exploit, which occupies five consecutive verses [3], in the very words of Joshua; but he introduces a circumstance respecting Caleb's kinsman Othniel, whose prowess was rewarded with his daughter Achshah to wife, the same who was afterwards raised up to be a judge and deliverer of Israel [4], that he was Caleb's *younger* brother. Or if we take it with the Septuagint, that he was the *younger son* of Kenaz, Caleb's brother, it is either way a new circumstance, twice mentioned by this author [5], but not discoverable from the book of Joshua, or any other part of holy Scripture.

The greater part of the first book of Samuel was written by the prophet, in whose name we have it; and the remainder, together with the second book, probably by Nathan and Gad, by one or both; as we are expressly informed, that Samuel and these two wrote the acts of David [6]. The prophets Ahijah and Iddo, Shemaiah and Jehu the son of Hanani, and the prophet Isaiah, also wrote the transactions of the kings of Israel and Judah [7], of one or

[1] Josh. xiv. 7. 10. 11.
[2] Ib. xv. 15—19.
[3] Judges i. 11—15.
[4] Ibid. iii. 9—11.
[5] Ib. i. 13. iii. 9.
[6] 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 30.
[7] 2 Chron. ix. 29. xi. 2. xii. 15. 5. 7 xiii. 22. It is said (xx. 34.) "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the book [or, words] of Jehu the son of Hanani, who is mentioned in the book of the kings of Israel." But on turning to the book of Kings, we have his prophecy against Baasha, King of Israel (1 Kings, xvi. 1—7;) but no mention of him, where the deeds of Jehoshaphat are recorded. He wrote therefore some parts of the Kings, where he is not named: and particularly, we may presume, the account of Jehoshaphat in 1 Kings xxii.; and he also "went out to meet him" on his return from Ramoth-Gilead, and reproved him for helping "the ungodly."

more, an entire reign, or some part only; and, besides these, no other historians of the kings are mentioned. In collating therefore Samuel or Kings with the Chronicles, we may sometimes be comparing the works of different authors; and sometimes distinct works of one and the same writer; but even in this case, not often distinguishable from the other, this at least will be seen, that one *book* is quoted in another, without particular notice that the passage alleged is a quotation.

The defeat and death of Saul are recorded at large in the first of Samuel and first of Chronicles, nearly in the same words; but with some variations and additions, which show the account in Chronicles to be a revision of the other. The armour of the slain monarch, the writer in Samuel says, "was put in the house of Ashtaroth;" "the house of their gods," as the Chronicles say[1]; but the former having merely named the city, where they suspended the body of Saul, fastening it "to the wall of Beth-shan," the Chronicler says, it was "in the temple of Dagon," a greater insult of the vaunting Philistines, and keener cause of anguish to those, who wept even for a wicked king, slain in "his high places,"

ungodly." 2 Chron. xix. 2. In like manner we read (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.) "Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz write." Isaiah therefore was a writer in the historical books: for when the book of his prophecy is referred to (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.) the expression is different; nor are any of the acts of Uzziah recorded in the prophecy of Isaiah, but merely his name, i. 1. and death, vi. 1.

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. 1 Chron. x. 10. I suppose 1 Chron. x. 10, with 12. is either *pars pro toto*, the head for the body, or that the head and body were both in one place; but if, on comparing the passages, it is thought the head was suspended in *one* place and the body in *another* (both however probably in the city of Beth-shan) that does not militate against the argument. In any view, the Chronicles furnish new circumstances, illustrative and explanatory of the account in 1 Samuel.

on

on the mountains of Gilboa, within his own dominions.

The valiant men of Jabesh-gilead could not brook this indignity and disgrace. They arose by night, and took away the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons; and buried them under a *tree* at Jabesh, says the book of Samuel; the other account says, "under the *oak* in Jabesh[1]," memorable, no doubt, and consecrated to sorrow; though of less fame than the palm tree of Deborah, under which the holy prophetess dwelt, and judged Israel[2].

The repeated victories of David over Hadadezer, or Hadarezer, and the Syrians are succinctly related, in the same order and in the same words, in the second of Samuel and the first of Chronicles; each narrative concluding with an account of the spoils: but concerning the very much brass, brought home from these wars, the Chronicles add, that therewith "Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass[3]."

David's numbering of the people, with the consequent pestilence and deliverance, is considerably abridged, and yet much enlarged, in the first book of Chronicles. Many identical clauses are retained, which show the writer had the prior account before him; and at the same time many new circumstances are thrown in, which make it evident, that the historian had in himself ample and accurate knowledge of what he related. It will suffice to mention one

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. 11—13. 1 Chron. x. 11, 12. The bones were afterwards removed by David, and deposited in the sepulchre of Kish, Saul's father. 2 Sam. xxi. 12—14.

[2] Judges iv. 5.

[3] 2 Sam. viii. 3—8. 1 Chron. xviii. 3—8.

particular.

particular. When we read in Samuel, that "the angel of the Lord was by the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite," we might imagine that he stood upon the ground, in that lofty situation, contiguous to Jerusalem; and thence "stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it[1]." In Chronicles we have the same locality of the vision, "by the threshing-floor of Ornan;" but we are told, that "David lift up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand *between the earth and the heaven*, having *a drawn sword* in his hand, stretched out over Jerusalem[2]." It appears also that David's attendants, the elders of Israel, who, as well as David, fell upon their faces, *saw* the angel; and it is expressly said, that Ornan saw him[3].

In the history of the dedication of the temple, the two descriptions, one in Kings, the other in Chronicles, tally exactly for many verses together, not only in reciting Solomon's prayer, which was a sort of public document to be copied by either author, but likewise in the previous account of the bringing of the ark "out of the city of David, which is Zion" (so both books inform us[4]) to the most holy place, appointed for it, in the temple: and there is also one and the same statement of the assembling of the people, and of various other circumstances preparatory to the great solemnity. As to the prayer itself, worthy of the occasion and the speaker, being in truth one of the noblest ever uttered by man, it is preserved, as it deserved to be, in both books; but, strictly speaking, by a copious extract only, as neither book separately delivers the entire prayer.

[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.
[2] 1 Chron. xxi. 16.
[3] Ib. 20.
[4] 1 Kings viii. 1. 2 Chron. v. 2.

Connected

Connected with this splendid and interesting celebrity, the Chronicles supply two circumstances, both useful, and one of them highly important to be known. We are informed, that "Solomon had made a brasen scaffold" or platform, "of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court." There "he stood," and there he "kneeled down upon his knees, before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands towards heaven [1]." "And when he had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the Lord filled the house [2]." This signal attestation, from the High and Holy One, to the acceptableness of the prayers of his servant, was never meant to be withheld from future generations; but, memorable and well known at the time, it was reserved, by Him who ever guided the pen of inspiration, to be recorded in the later account of the consecration of that holy temple, where Jehovah himself, enthroned between the cherubim, vouchsafed to dwell, and to bless his people Israel.

The visit of the queen of Sheba occupies nine or ten parallel verses in the first book of Kings and second of Chronicles [3], with scarcely more than a single variation. Both accounts reckon among her presents an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and abundance of spices; but the second author calls our attention also to the quality of the spices: "neither was there any *such* spice as the queen of Sheba gave king Solomon." Here both historians interpose a digression of two verses, connected with the subject not chronologically, but merely in point of matter, con-

[1] 2 Chron. vi. 13.
[2] Ib. vii. 1.
[3] Kings x. 1—10. 2 Chron. ix. 1—9.

cerning

cerning the gold and almug trees and precious stones, brought from Ophir by the navy of Hiram for Solomon, and the purposes to which they were applied; and then both writers resume and conclude together their narrative of the queen of Sheba.

It were easy to extend the series of parallelisms, and to carry it into later periods of the inspired history. We have dwelt chiefly on the reigns of David and Solomon, because, as the acts of these kings respectively were recorded by three prophets, David's, as already said, by Samuel and Nathan and Gad, and Solomon's by Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo[1], it is the more probable, that, in some instances at least, we have been comparing together different authors, and not merely distinct works of one and the same writer. The worthies or mighty men of David, their names and achievements, are very nearly the same in both the enrollments of them; but the book of Samuel having mentioned the graceful appearance of the Egyptian, whom Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, one of this select band of heroes, slew, that he was "a goodly man," or "a man of countenance[2]," and had a spear in his hand; the writer in Chronicles notes, that he was "a man of stature, five cubits high, and in his hand was a spear like a weaver's beam[3]."

I will advert only to one instance more, of a date long subsequent, in the reign of Hezekiah, partly for the sake of suggesting a slight correction in the elaborate work of a consummate critic. Nearly three entire chapters in the second book of Kings are devoted to the invasion of Sennacherib, the sickness of

[1] 2 Chron. ix. 29.
[2] 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21, and the margin.
[3] 1 Chron. xi. 23.

Hezekiah,

Hezekiah, and the embassy of congratulation to him from Babylon [1]; and they occupy an equal space, divided into four chapters, in the book of Isaiah [2]. The last and the two first may be regarded as duplicates or different copies, of the same narration in the book of Kings; and, whether it was that the holy prophet was transcribing from himself, or whatever might be the reason, they are, I believe, the longest quotation (though with some variations or omissions) that is to be found in the whole Bible. But the intervening account of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery evidently is, what bishop Lowth says it seems to be, "an abridgement" of the same history in the second of Kings [3]. But "the abridger," of whom he unwarily speaks, as of a different person, was doubtless the inspired prophet himself; the abridgement is a very masterly one; and if this circumstance and the tenor of the whole chapter had been more maturely weighed, I persuade myself the two last verses would not have been removed, contrary to all authority of manuscripts, for the sake of placing them, where certainly in point of time they should stand, before the song of Hezekiah on his recovery. They cannot be introduced into that first part of the chapter without violence; and if they are brought thither, still they do not identify the narrative with the book of Kings; and they have, in their present situation, a propriety, which, in the sacred as in other

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 13. 17. xx. 19.

[2] Isaiah xxxvi—xxxix. The writing or song of Hezekiah on his recovery (xxxviii. 9—20.) is new matter, recorded here only; and, with the rehearsal or abridgement of other parts of his history, justifies the expectation, raised by the note in the second of Chronicles, that the transactions of Hezekiah, more or fewer of them, formed an original part of the prophecy of Isaiah: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his goodness, behold, they are written *in the vision of Isaiah* the prophet, the son of Amoz, and in the books of the kings of Judah and Israel." 2 Chron. xxxii. 32.

[3] Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xxxviii. 4, 5. and see him on xxxvi.

writers,

writers, is often allowed, in subordinate matters, to predominate over rigid chronology. The first of the two verses, in which the remedy for the disease, in itself far inadequate, is mentioned, is connected with the conclusion of Hezekiah's song; where he ascribes his recovery to its proper cause, "The Lord was ready to save me." And both verses make the transition more easy to the following chapter, in which the history of Hezekiah is continued.

The survey, which we have taken of this subject, might be further illustrated and confirmed, by observing the manner, in which some of the psalms, or certain portions of them, are sometimes introduced in the historical books. The xviiith psalm, for instance, forms the twenty-second chapter of the second book of Samuel; and either one might, at first sight, be taken for a mere transcript of the other; yet of the seventy-four variations, which critics find in the two copies [1], some at least are probably original, and not owing to mistakes of copyists.

But on the day when David brought the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom, and set it in the tent, which he had pitched for it; on that day he delivered to Asaph a psalm of praise, which, it is probably supposed, thenceforth became a daily part of the divine service [2]. Now either this hymn was afterwards divided and enlarged, so as to form two distinct psalms, but with many variations in one (the ninety-sixth) and in the other (the hundred and fifth) with the addition of thirty entire verses; or else the hymn itself was composed from those two, previously written by the holy psalmist. But as it

[1] Patrick on 2 Sam. xxii. 1.
[2] 1 Chron. xvi. 7.

stands

stands in the first of Chronicles, like the other just mentioned in the book of Samuel, it forms an integral part of the history; in which it is inserted, without the smallest intimation, that the whole song, or any portion of it, is elsewhere to be found among the writings of inspiration.

If this discourse, hastily put together, but not hastily considered [1], has been satisfactory to a learned audience, they have probably gone before me in extending their views from the writers of the Old Testament to those of the New.

The counsels of God are all in his foreknowledge, and his ways uniform. His earlier dispensations were preparatory to those, which were to succeed; and what was once done by those whom he inspired, was an example and precedent to those who should come after.

With the constant practice, which we have seen, of God's ancient church before their eyes, and with the same Almighty Spirit for their guide, what was it to be expected, that the historians of our blessed Lord would do? What, but the very thing, which they have done? that they would walk in the path, which the holy prophets of old had marked out? that they would often tread full in each other's steps; often relate the same miracle, or discourse, or parts of it, in the words of the prior writer; sometimes compress, sometimes expand; always show to the diligent inquirer, that they did not derive their information, even of facts which they relate in another's words, from him whom they copy, but wrote with antecedent plenitude of knowledge

[1] See the beginning of the Introduction, p. xciii.

and

and truth in themselves: without staying to inform us, whether what they deliver is told for the first time, or has its place already in authentic history.

"Are they not written in the book of the *kings* of Judah and Israel[1]." "Are they not written in the book of the *chronicles* of the kings of Judah[2]?" These reciprocal references, from one record to the other, were perhaps inserted by Ezra, when each volume was complete; but if, which is scarcely probable, they were from the hands respectively of the authors of the history, as it was progressively composed in portions, through successive reigns, still, by their usual tenor, "the *rest* of the acts," they prepare us to expect new and distinct transactions, but afford no hint of what is oftener the case, that the *same* facts are in the corresponding memorial, frequently in the same order, and not seldom in the same words.

"So Saul died for his transgression," says the book of Chronicles, "and for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit[3]." But the transgression of Saul and his consulting the wizard are not reported in Chronicles, but in the book of Samuel; with which therefore the writer of the Chronicles supposes his readers to be previously acquainted. In like manner we read of Hezekiah in the second book of Chronicles, that "in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon,—God left him to try him[4]," which, with similar remarks elsewhere, is an useful comment on what is recorded, not in this

[1] 2 Chron. xxv. 26.
[2] 1 Kings xiv. 29.
[3] 1 Chron. x. 13.
[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. This chapter, from verse 9, is a brief summary of Sennacherib's invasion and Hezekiah's sickness, but with much additional matter, on these and other points.

book,

book, but in the book of Kings, and in the prophecy of Isaiah.

"Many other signs truly," St. John says, "did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book [1]." Why so? For one obvious reason, because they were already extant and well known from the other Gospels; to which in St. John's gospel there are many tacit references, besides this, as there are some few also in the other gospels.

The ways of God are not as our ways. His dealings with mankind, seldom such as man's imagination would previously have devised or expected, always have in them, when we have actually beheld and consider them, clear marks and demonstrations of wisdom and goodness. Writers, who have no other resources, but human ingenuity and learning, appeal to other authors, past or contemporary; and cite their works for proof, for example, or for ornament. But with the inspired penman truth alone is the paramount consideration; and this he possesses largely in his own breast; for he drinks at the pure Fountain of all truth. He is the living depositary and witness of the Providence and interposition of the Most High. If he adopts words, which his predecessors have employed, and relates facts as they have related them, he corroborates their testimony, without weakening his own. He continues the chain of inspiration and prophecy, which is immoveably fixed in the rock of ages.

The history of the kings of Judah, descendants of David, is interesting and important. They are the

[1] John xx. 30.

progenitors

progenitors of the promised Son of David; and it might be expedient, while the apostate house of Israel is not so honoured[1], that Their acts and Their lineage should be recorded, in full series, in two concurrent volumes. But four holy witnesses, four consentient Gospels, shall declare the life, and establish the truth of God's own Anointed; for he is "the root and the offspring of David, King of kings, and Lord of lords." Rev. xxii. 16. xix. 16.

[1] Of the nineteen kings of Israel I think six only are mentioned in the Chronicles, as their affairs, whether of peace or war, happened to be connected with the kings of Judah. They reigned, on an average, not more than 13 years each; and there was not one in the whole number (unless we make a favourable exception for the first years of Jehu) that did not "work wickedness in the sight of the Lord." The kings of Judah (twenty-three, including Athaliah) reigned, on an average, 22 years; some of them were eminently good, and some extremely wicked.

DISCOURSES

ON THE

FOUR GOSPELS,

CHIEFLY WITH REGARD TO THE

PECULIAR DESIGN OF EACH, AND THE ORDER AND PLACES IN WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN INQUIRY CONCERNING THE HOURS OF ST. JOHN, OF THE ROMANS, AND OF SOME OTHER NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY THOMAS TOWNSON, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND; ONE OF THE RECTORS OF MALPAS, CHESHIRE; AND SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

MIRABILIA TESTIMONIA TUA, IDEO SCRUTATA EST EA ANIMA MEA. PSAL. CXIX. 129.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

A SERMON

ON THE MANNER OF OUR SAVIOUR'S TEACHING.

IMPRIMATUR.

GEO. HORNE,
VICE-CAN. OXON.

Nov. 10, 1777.

TO THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THESE

DISCOURSES ON THE FOUR GOSPELS

ARE

WITH ALL RESPECT

AND GRATITUDE

MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE EDITION IN MDCCLXXVIII.

THE Author of these Discourses has considered the subject which they treat of with some care and attention, and so as to satisfy himself, that all material parts of the work rest on a good foundation. Yet he had not now ventured to lay his thoughts before the Public, but in pure deference to the judgement of two or three very valuable and learned friends, who have perused these papers and urged the printing of them. He will be happy that he has submitted to their advice, if his humble endeavours prove subservient to the cause of truth; if they tend in any measure to illustrate the Gospels, and to confirm the evidence of their authenticity. He has only to add his sincere thanks to one of these friends, who has been so kind as to undertake the whole trouble of the publication.

M DCC LXXX VIII.

THE Person meant in the conclusion of the preceding Advertisement was the late worthy Dr. Winchester, formerly Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford; and then Rector of Appleton, Berkshire, to his death in the year of our Lord MDCCLXXX: till which time the Author was happy in his constant and valuable friendship from an early period.

The like thanks are now due to two other highly esteemed friends; who have not only corrected the errors of the former edition, and superintended the printing and publishing of this; but, to render the work less incomplete, have been at the pains of composing an Index to it.

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DIS-

DISCOURSE THE FIRST.

A SERMON, IN TWO PARTS.

JOHN xx. 30, 31.

AND MANY OTHER SIGNS TRULY DID JESUS IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS DISCIPLES, WHICH ARE NOT WRITTEN IN THIS BOOK.

BUT THESE ARE WRITTEN, THAT YE MIGHT BELIEVE THAT JESUS IS THE CHRIST THE SON OF GOD, AND THAT BELIEVING YE MIGHT HAVE LIFE THROUGH HIS NAME.

ST. JOHN here declares what he chiefly purposed by writing a Gospel; and at the same time obviates some objections, which the nature of this Gospel might occasion to be raised against the other Evangelists or himself.

For a person who had read and compared their writings might have observed to him: You tell us things about which the other Evangelists are silent, and till towards the conclusion scarce take notice of any thing which they have related: if then you have given a full and true account of your Lord's actions, what are we to judge of *their* narrations?

That their veracity might not be questioned for this difference, St. John acquaints us, that he had related only some parts of the public life of Christ: *And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book.*

But on this avowal, which guards the credit of the other Gospels, might be founded an exception against his own. For it might be asked again: If Christ manifested his glory by such a number and variety of works, why have you recorded so few of them?

But we find this question also sufficiently answered. For first, his chief and ultimate view in writing a Gospel carries with it a plain reason of many omissions. *These things*, he says, *are written that ye might believe.* The readers, to whom he makes this apostrophe, were a society of Christians. What then would he teach them to believe? Not surely, that Jesus was the Christ foretold and promised to the fathers: for of this he could not suppose *them* ignorant or doubtful, who had read and received the other Gospels. But if some were fallen, or in danger of falling, into Jewish errors [1], and indisposed to think of the nature of Christ, as the truth and their happiness demanded, that they might have life through his name; it was a task worthy of an Apostle, to add some further illustrations of this high point.

The principal design of St. John's Gospel will meet us again in another place: what I would now observe upon it is, that it did not require a distinct memorial of all the works of Christ, but chiefly an historical deduction of such passages, as proved the transcendent dignity of his nature.

[1] See Bp. Bull's Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ. C. 1. § 13. p. 291.

Secondly,

Secondly, the words, *In the presence of his disciples*, point out another limitation of St. John's plan: that he proposed to relate only those things which were public and well known to the disciples of Christ, and which he, this Evangelist, could attest as seen or heard by himself. And what the adherence to such a plan takes from the fulness of the history, it adds to the weight of it's authority.

A third reason of his silence concerning many transactions was, that it was unnecessary to repeat them. They *are not written in this book*, because they are already written by the other Evangelists in books of equal credit and fidelity: a reason intimated in the text, and implied in the whole tenor of his Gospel.

Lastly, it is evident, that he and the other Evangelists, writing for persons of all degrees, studied to make their Gospels not only as plain but as short as the subject could admit; that they might not perplex the understanding, nor overburthen the memory, of the simple and laborious. And to this end it was necessary to select what was most to the purpose of each, out of that variety and abundance that were before them: the life of the blessed Jesus being so rich in heavenly wonders, that a full and exact account of them had been an immense, or rather an impossible work; as St. John assures us by a strong hyperbole in the concluding verse of his Gospel.

The text being thus opened, and our thoughts directed by it towards the other Gospels as well as St. John's; I shall now proceed to make some observations on them all in the following method:

First, I shall give some account of the peculiar design of each Gospel, and show to what state of the church it was adapted:

Secondly, I shall briefly view the characters of the Evangelists, and their qualifications for writing their several Gospels:

Thirdly, I shall suggest a few reflections arising from the subject before us.

But here it may be proper to take notice, that these observations proceed on a supposition of the following facts:

That the Gospels were composed in the order in which they stand; at least that St. Matthew's was the first, and St. John's the last:

That St. Matthew wrote early in Jerusalem or Judea, St. Mark and St. Luke in other countries:

That St. Matthew wrote more immediately for the Jews who had embraced the faith, St. Mark for both Jewish and Gentile converts, St. Luke particularly for the latter:

And that the Gospel of St. Mark was written under the inspection of St. Peter, of whom he was the follower, as St. Luke was of St. Paul.

These things must here in great measure be supposed, not because proof of them is wanting, but because it cannot be admitted into the present discourse.

The first then of the four Gospels was St. Matthew's, compiled within a few years of our Lord's ascension, while the church consisted wholly of the circumcision, that is, of Jewish and Samaritan believers, but principally Jewish; to whose use it was admirably suited.

For

For the Jews were much disposed to consider the letter of the Law as the complete rule and measure of moral duty; to place religion in the observance of rites and ceremonies, or in a strict adherence to some favourite precepts, written or traditionary; to ascribe to themselves sufficient power of doing the divine will without the divine assistance; and, vain of a civil or legal righteousness, to contemn all others, and esteem themselves so just that they needed no repentance, nor any expiation but what the law provided. They rested in the covenant of circumcision and their descent from Abraham as a sure title to salvation, however their lives were led: and though they looked for a Messiah, yet with so little idea of an atonement for sin to be made by his death, that the cross proved the great stumbling-block to them. They expected him to appear with outward splendor, as the dispenser of temporal felicity; the chief blessings of which were to redound to their own nation in an earthly Canaan, and in conquest and dominion over the rest of mankind [1].

A tincture of these delusive notions, which they had imbibed by education and the doctrine of their elders, would be apt to remain with too many, even after their admission into the church of Christ. How necessary then was it, that just principles concerning the way of life and happiness, and the nature and extent of the Gospel, should be infused into the breasts of these sons of Sion, that they might be able to work out their own salvation, and promote that of others: since they were to be the *salt of the earth*, and *the light of the world;* the first preachers of righteousness to the nations, and the instruments of calling mankind to the knowledge of the truth.

[1] See Justin Martyr's Dial. with Trypho the Jew, p. 153, 156, 164, &c. Ed. Thirlby. Bull's Harmonia Apostolica: Pars Posterior. Ch. xv, xvi, xvii. Whitby on Matth. iii. 9. Rom. ii. 13. 2 Thess. ii. p. 438.

St.

St. Matthew therefore has chosen, out of the materials before him, such parts of our blessed Saviour's history and discourses, as were best suited to the purpose of awakening them to a sense of their sins, of abating their self-conceit and over-weening hopes, of rectifying their errors, correcting their prejudices, and exalting and purifying their minds. After a short account, more particularly requisite in the first writer of a Gospel, of the genealogy and miraculous birth of Christ, and a few circumstances relating to his infancy, he proceeds to describe his forerunner John the Baptist, who preached the necessity of repentance to the race of Abraham and children of the circumcision; and by his testimony prepares us to expect one mightier than he; mightier as a prophet in deed and word, and above the sphere of a prophet, mighty to sanctify by his Spirit, to pardon, reward, and punish by his sovereignty. Then the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the pure and perfect laws by which it is administered, and the necessity of vital and universal obedience to them, are set before us in various discourses, beginning with the sermon on the mount, to which St. Matthew hastens, as with a rapid pace, to lead his readers. And that the holy light shining on the mind by the word and life of Christ, and quickening the heart by his Spirit, might be seconded in it's operations by the powers of hope and fear; the twenty-fifth chapter of this Gospel, which finishes the legislation of Christ, exhibits him enforcing his precepts and adding a sanction to his laws by that noble and awful description of his future appearance in glory, and the gathering of all nations before him to judgement.

St. Matthew then passing to the history of the Passion, shows them, that the *new covenant*, foretold by their prophets, was a covenant of spiritual not temporal blessings, established in the sufferings and death of Christ, *whose blood was shed for many* FOR THE REMISSION

REMISSION OF SINS[1]; which it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away. To purge the conscience from the pollution of dead and sinful works required the blood of Him, *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God.*

With the instructions of Christ are intermixed many hints, that the kingdom of God would not be confined to the Jews, but, while numbers of them were excluded through unbelief, would be increased by subjects of other nations. And thus the devout Israelite was taught, in submission to the will and ordinance of Heaven, to embrace the believing Samaritan as a brother, and to welcome the admission of the Gentiles into the church, which was soon after to commence with the calling of Cornelius.

And as they suffered persecution from their own nation, and were to expect it elsewhere in following Christ; all that can fortify the mind with neglect of earthly good, and contempt of worldly danger, when they come in competition with our duty, is strongly inculcated.

The second Gospel was St. Mark's, admirably suited to it's order and time: for St. Matthew's, we presume, was already known and read throughout the Christian church. And as it contained so large and excellent a recital of our Lord's instructions by precept and parable, St. Mark thought it less needful to be copious on this head, and hath more particularly applied himself to give an accurate and distinct account of facts; some few of which are first mentioned by *him*: but in general he follows the occurrences, though not always the order, of St. Mat-

[1] Matth. xxvi. 28.

thew's

thew's history. He tells the same miracles and actions, and nearly in the same language, yet often with additions of considerable circumstances[1]: so that his Gospel has the spirit of an original, of a work composed by one who did not learn from St. Matthew what he has adopted from him, but wrote with an antecedent knowledge of his subject, and described things as an eye-witness would describe them.

It was published, according to the general suffrage of the ancients, in Italy or at Rome. And indeed it bears evident tokens of being calculated for a church that consisted, as did the Roman, of Pagan intermixed with Jewish converts. It concurs with St. Matthew's in delivering the censures, which our Lord passed on the corrupt traditions and maxims of the Scribes and Pharisees, and in relating matters which more immediately concerned the Jews. But then St. Mark plainly supposes a part of his readers to be not much conversant in their usages and affairs, and inserts either direct or oblique explications, in places where St. Matthew goes on with the subject as needing no exposition. And when in other respects they perfectly correspond, we may observe some one particular expressed a little differently by St. Mark, for the sake of rendering the sense more easy, or more edifying, to those who had been aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.

We may therefore consider him as suiting St. Matthew's text to a change in the church by the addition of foreign members, and as often enlarging on his facts for the benefit of distant and less informed

[1] There is scarce any one story related by both these Evangelists, in which St. Mark does not add some considerable circumstances which St. Matthew has not. Jones's Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 56. where this matter is exemplified.

believers:

believers: in doing which he so fully harmonizes with St. Matthew, as to confirm his evidence by a fresh testimony.

But this agreeing testimony is also of apostolical authority: for there is a very general consent of ancient writers, that St. Mark composed his Gospel under the inspection of St. Peter; and their authorities are confirmed by many internal characters. The great humility of this Apostle is conspicuous in every part of it, where any thing is related or might be related of him; his weaknesses and fall being exposed to view, while the things that redound to his honour are either slightly touched, or wholly concealed. And with regard to Christ, scarce any action that was done, or word that was spoken by him, is mentioned, at which this Apostle was not present.

It hath an introduction of only fifteen verses, before it brings us to the calling of St. Peter. And these verses comprise all that St. Mark relates of the public preaching of John, the Baptism of Christ, and the Temptation in the wilderness. St. Peter had been a hearer of the Baptist, and might probably be a spectator of the baptizing of Christ. But because he was not a witness of the Temptation in the wilderness, it is very concisely told in general terms, and without notice taken of the incidents which attended it. In the description of the Transfiguration, which seems animated by the impressions that this glorious scene had made on St. Peter, we have the voice from heaven, which he certainly heard, and the appearance of Moses and Elias, whom he as surely saw [1]. But

[1] St. Mark mentions a striking circumstance, ix. 15. of which St. Matthew and St. Luke take no notice; that on the descent of our Lord from the mount, on which he had been transfigured, *All the people when they beheld him were greatly amazed*; that is, as Dr. Doddridge after Whitby seems well to explain it, "At those "unusual

the subject of their conference with Christ, which we learn from St. Luke [1], is not mentioned. St. Peter, perhaps overpowered by the heavenly glory [2], was asleep during part of the conversation.

St. Chrysostom, no incompetent judge of the language of the Apostles, discovers in this Gospel the concise style of St. Peter, as in St. Luke's the more diffuse diction of St. Paul [3]. And certainly there are passages in it, where St. Peter appears to have directed not only the matter and circumstances, but the very words of the narration.

In the miracle of feeding the five thousand with five barley loaves and two small fishes [4], *the green grass* on which the multitude sat down seems a slight circumstance to enter into the description of so wonderful a work; yet was naturally enough mentioned by one, who had seen that multitude sit down, and assisted in ministering to them. This, then, being the account of a spectator, is that of St. Peter. And hence it appears, why also St. Matthew and St. John speak of *the grass*, and of the *much grass*, that was in the place, and why St. Luke takes no notice of it.

If St. Mark was not a Galilean, and he seems rather to have been a native of Jerusalem, he probably learnt of St. Peter to call Herod Antipas, who be-

" unusual rays of majesty and glory, which yet remained on his countenance." Compare Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30.

[1] Luke ix. 31.

[2] This is the cause assigned for the sleep of the Apostles by St. Chrysostom on Matth. xvii. 4.

[3] Hom. in Matth. V. ii. p. 20, lin. 1. Ed. Savil.

[4] See Mark vi 39. Matth. xiv. 19. Joh. vi. 10. Compare Luke ix. 15.

headed

headed John the Baptist, *king* Herod [1]. His subjects spoke of their sovereign in this style of honour; and therefore St. Matthew, who, as well as St. Peter, had stood in this relation to him, once uses it [2]. But others, I presume, Jews as well as Greeks, gave him the title only of *Tetrarch* [3], as St. Luke has done.

The same account may be given, why St. Mark calls the lake, where St. Peter had employed so many of his younger years, *the Sea of Galilee* [4]; as St. Matthew and St. John likewise term it. The title of *Sea*, which had been familiar to them in their own language, was naturally transferred to the Greek by those who were bred on the borders of this lake, at a distance from the ocean; and seemed justified by the magnitude of such a body of waters, the idea of which had been early impressed upon their minds. But St. Luke, who seems to have been born or educated in a different situation, never calls it a *Sea*, but always a *Lake*: and probably St. Mark would have given it no other name, if he had used his own, and not followed St. Peter's mode of expression [5].

[1] Mark vi. 14—27. Tetrarcham regem vocat, quia sic à suis vocabatur. Grot. in loc.

[2] Matth. xiv. 9.

[3] So, I believe, Josephus always calls him.

[4] Mark i. 16. &c.

[5] It was anciently called the *Sea of Chinnereth*. Numb. xxxiv. 11. But when the author of the first book of Maccabees lived, *The water of Gennesar*. 1 Macc. xi. 67. Josephus calls it *the Waters of Gennesar*. Antiq. xiii. 5. § 7. *the lake of Gennesareth* ib. v. 1. § 22. xviii. 2. § 1. 3. *and the Lake of Gennesar*. Jewish War, ii. 20. § 6. iii. 10. § 1. 7. So that in St. Mark's time, the name of a *sea* seems to have been retained chiefly in provincial language among those who spoke of it in Greek.

In the following sentence the change of *sea* into *lake* is the more remarkable, as St. Luke in the other words agrees exactly with St. Matthew and St. Mark:

Matth. viii. 32. Mark v. 13.	Luke viii. 33.
The herd ran violently down a steep place into the *sea*.	The herd ran violently down a steep place into the *lake*.

From

From these and other considerations, too many to be now offered, it seems evident, that this Gospel was dictated by St. Peter, and, as far as the connection of the history admitted, was limited with scrupulous exactness to those occurrences in the life of Christ, which he could attest as seen or heard by himself.

It hath been observed, that St. Mark's Gospel was compiled for a mixt society of the faithful; but St. Luke's, which we are next to consider, was designed immediately for the converted Gentiles, who were become a considerable part of the mystical body of Christ. For the sacred inclosure of the church being opened, a large multitude of sincere believers was received within its pale, gathered by the blessing of God on his own appointment, not only from among the devout Gentiles or worshipers of one God, such as was Cornelius the Centurion [1], but also from among the idolatrous part of them: one of whom, and the first upon record, was Sergius Paulus, the governor of Cyprus [2].

These persons were *called out of darkness into a marvelous light*. But a light, which showed them a law of perfect righteousness and God the judge of all men, must have filled their awakened minds with terror and anguish, unless they had seen, that as *Justice and judgement are the habitation of his throne, mercy and truth go before his face* [3]. St. Luke therefore has been careful to present them with this view of things, and to exhibit to them such passages of the life and doctrine of Christ, as are examples of divine goodness towards those who were not of the race of Abraham, or yield the liveliest as-

[1] Acts x. 1.
[2] Ib. xiii. 7—12.
[3] Psal. lxxxix. 14

surances

surances of acceptance to sincere penitents. For though our blessed Lord was personally sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, yet with heavenly foresight and providence he had said and done many things, which, when he commissioned his Apostles to call the Gentiles to repentance, would afford them the strongest encouragement to obey the call. Several things of this character are peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel; and among them we may reckon the story of the prodigal son; which sets forth the case of the Jew and Gentile in a beautiful parable of a prophetic nature; and intimates, that the Gentile, represented by the younger the prodigal son, returning at length to his heavenly Father, would meet with the most merciful and gracious and affectionate reception[1].

St. Matthew, in deducing the genealogy of Christ, had contented himself with showing, that Jesus was the son of Abraham and David, from whom the Scriptures taught the Jews to expect the Messiah to spring. But St. Luke traces his lineage up to Adam[2]; and thus signifies, among other important truths, that he is *the Seed of the Woman*, promised to our first parents, as the common Saviour of them and all their posterity, without distinction of Greek or Jew, bond or free; and that, *as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.*

St. Luke is equally solicitous to instruct the Gentiles in the duties and doctrines of the Gospel, as

[1] So Jerom, Augustin, Gregory the Great, and others of the ancients, understood this parable, according to Cornelius a Lapide on Luke xv. 11. See also Grotius on Matthew xxii. 9.

[2] Ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος, ἅτε Ἑβραίοις γράφων, ἐδὴν πολὺν ἐξήτησε δεῖξαι, ἢ ὅτι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Δαβὶδ ἦν. Ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς, ἅτε κοινῇ πᾶσι διαλεγόμενος, ἀνατέρω τὸν λογον ἀνάγει, μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ προϊών. Chrysostom, V. ii. p. 3. lin. 36. Ed. Savil. See also Irenæus B. iii. C. xxxiii. at the beginning.

to

to encourage them to embrace it; to expound what was new to them; clear what was doubtful; and render the whole of his history plain and comprehensible. It would lead me too far to illustrate these matters by apposite examples. I shall therefore mention only one instance, which, though of less consequence, is a proof of his care to inform them. As they were little acquainted with the transactions of Judea, he has marked the æras, when Christ was born, and when John began to announce the Gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors: to which point St. Matthew and the other Evangelists have not attended.

DISCOURSE THE FIRST.

PART THE SECOND.

LET us now turn our eyes towards St. John, who having perused and approved the three former Gospels, and being, as many suppose, the only survivor of the Apostles, judged it expedient to add, in historical order, several important notices concerning Christ, which had been hitherto omitted.

Accordingly the greater part of his Gospel is composed of occurrences either preceding the time at which the other Evangelists begin our Lord's public ministry, or which happened at Jerusalem, or in the neighbourhood of that city. For they almost wholly confined themselves to relate what was done in or near Galilee, or beyond Jordan; and chose rather to be silent than say little about our Lord's miracles and discourses at Jerusalem [1]. This part the Holy Spirit, *dividing severally as he saw good*, reserved as a peculiar province for St. John [2], till we come to the last

[1] However they plainly suppose these discourses and miracles at Jerusalem. What our Lord said in that city concerning it a little before his crucifixion, he is represented by St. Luke, xiii. 34, as having already spoken in Galilee: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem——how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not:" on which occasion the whole propriety of the speech seems to depend on the number of his visits to Jerusalem during the course of his ministry.

[2] Ἀλλά γε τηρεῖ τῷ ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐμπεσόντι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μείζονας καὶ τελειοτέρους λόγους. Origen. Comment. in Joannem.

days

days of our Saviour's life; and then all the four Evangelists as it were meet together in the same place near Jerusalem. But even from hence St. John proceeds as much as possible in an unbeaten track, and still observes the same method of reciting only so much in common with the other Evangelists, as may serve to connect his Gospel with theirs. By not repeating what had been related by them, he gives his testimony, that it is faithfully and justly related; and at the same time leaves himself room to enlarge the gospel-history.

In this view his Gospel is a supplement to the other three. But this was only a secondary end of writing it. For heresy sprang up, and was branching into heads [1]; and Faith called the authority of the beloved disciple to her aid. He interposed for her security and assurance [2]; and explained, Who and What he is that was made flesh and dwelt among us: which he taught more directly in his own words, and more copiously in the words of Christ, than the other Evangelists [3]; who, though they fail not in many places to give plain evidences of his divinity, have chiefly recorded his practical addresses to the people: but St. John sets before us his conferences with the eminent and learned Jews [4]; and those other dis-

[1] See Irenæus Adversus Hæres. B. iii. C. xi. p. 218. Ed. Oxon.

[2] Omni fiducia plenum est evangelium istud. ib. p. 222.

[3] See the testimonies, particularly that of Origen, before St. John's Gospel in Mill's Greek Testament. See also Dr. Knight's Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture, p. 205.

[4] Lightfoot in his Harmony, part iii. Eachard in his Eccl. Hist. V. i. c. iv. Dr. Doddridge in his Fam. Expositor, V. i. p. 290. &c. are of opinion, that our Lord's Discourse, John v. 17—47. was delivered before the great Sanhedrim: and it is highly probable, that the persons there concerned were at least members of it; for the 33d verse, *Ye sent unto John and he bare witness unto the truth,* refers to the deputation which they had sent unto John and his answer to them (Joh. i. 19—24.); and ver. 44. was spoken to those who valued themselves on the honours and dignities which they bore. See Doddridge.

courses,

courses, in which he had occasion to speak of the dignity of his nature and his union with the Father. And that we might be duly prepared to conceive the force and import of his words, and to understand them in their sublimest sense, St. John opens his Gospel with instructing us, that "*The Word which* "*was made Flesh was in the beginning with God,* "*and was God;*" and, that "*all things were made* "*by him, and without him was not any thing made* "*that was made.*" And having displayed the divinity of this Word incarnate in a variety of lights, he calls upon his Christian readers in concluding, to review what he had laid before them as sufficient evidences, that Christ is the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, in that high sense which he set out with asserting: "*These things are written,* "*that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ* "*the Son of God, and that believing ye might* "*have life through his name.*"

The Spirit of Inspiration having confirmed the certainty of this high article, and guarded the church against errors of faith by the Gospel of St. John, sealed the volume of the book; if not the volume of the whole New Testament, at least that which described the Son of God's abode on earth.

I proceed, *secondly,* to view briefly the characters of the Evangelists, and their qualifications for writing their several Gospels.

St. Matthew had his education and employment among the publicans, or farmers of the public taxes; men of so odious a character and so famous for injustice and oppression, that in Judea publicans and sinners were names usually joined together; as if he who was a publican by profession was sure to be a

sinner by life. Yet many of them attended to the instructions of John the Baptist, and of Christ, and became sincere penitents. Zaccheus in particular made fourfold restitution for every act of extortion, and then gave the half of his income to the poor[1]. So that our Lord himself, who vouchsafed to visit him, declared him *a Son of Abraham, and that Salvation was come to his house.* St. Matthew takes no notice of Zaccheus, whose conduct might have helped to retrieve the credit of his profession, but faithfully records the passages in which they are ranked with sinners and heathens[2]. In naming himself, which it was twice necessary to do, he has shown as much humility as could have place on either occasion. He mentions indeed, that when he was called by Christ *he arose and followed him*, but not, as St. Luke relates, that *he left all to follow him;* nor that *he made a great feast at his own house*[3], which our Lord honoured with his presence. When he enumerates the twelve Apostles, whose preeminence to the other disciples he studiously suppresses, he places himself after St. Thomas, before whom he is ranked by St. Mark and St. Luke[4]. They do not join his former profession with the apostolical name of Matthew, but rather veil it under the less known name of Levi; but he reminds us, that he was Matthew the publican[5].

[1] Luke xix. 2—10.

[2] Matth. ix. 11. xi. 19. xviii. 17. xxi. 31, 32.

[3] Matth. ix. 9. compare Luke v. 27—29.

[4] Matth. x. 3. compare Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15.

[5] Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου θαυμάσαι τὴν σοφίαν, πῶς οὐκ ἀποκρύπτεται αὐτοῦ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τίθησι, τῶν ἄλλων κρυψάντων αὐτὸ προσηγορίᾳ ἑτέρᾳ. Chrysost. V. ii. p. 204, ad sum. pag. Ed. Savil. See also a fine passage on this and the foregoing point, in Euseb. Demonstrat. L. iii. C. v. p. 109. quoted by Dr. Lardner, Credibility, V. viii. p. 83. Compare Matth. ix. 9. Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27.

If

If he is the least distinct of the Evangelists in his history[1], he designed by the brevity of the narrative part to render the doctrinal more complete: silent as much as possible himself, that Christ may discourse more at large in his Gospel. For being invited to be a disciple, he became an attentive hearer of our Lord, and let the word sink deep into his heart. We may charitably believe, that while he sat at the receipt of custom, he observed the Baptist's precept, of *exacting no more than that which was appointed him.* But if the publicans, among whom he lived, acted upon the general maxims of their society, and behaved like the rest; the difference which he beheld in Him, who called him, must render the doctrine and life of Christ more striking and venerable and dear to him: by the sacred energy of which, as the whole tenor of his Gospel demonstrates, he conceived as just a sense, and as ardent a love of every grace and virtue that appertained to his high calling, as could animate the breast of man. We may therefore esteem him an instrument in the hands of Providence, peculiarly fit to record his divine Master's lessons and instructions, which are the rule of our practice.

But St. John entered into the family of Christ while his youth was unspotted from the world; and being led on to still higher degrees of purity and holiness under the blessed influence of his Lord, who loved and honoured him with his intimacy, he was of a mind aptly qualified to apprehend the higher mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. For if the pure in heart have a promise, as of a congenial reward, that they shall hereafter see God[2]; we may believe,

[1] Grot. on Matth. viii. 5.

[2] Matt. v. 8. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ κάτοπτρον ἐὰν ᾖ καθαρὸν, τότε δέχεται τὰς ἐμφάσεις, ἕτω καὶ ἡ καθαρὰ ψυχὴ δέχεται ὄψιν Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν τῶν γεγραφῶν γνῶσιν. Sicut speculum, si fuerit mundum, recipit imagines, ita

that, in such measure as their hearts are pure, they will have a capacity for some anticipation of this blessed Vision here on earth. St. John therefore, as a person of this character, was especially qualified to conceive and teach those mysterious truths, which are the object of our Faith.

St. Mark was trained up under the discipline, if not of our Lord himself, yet of his prime Apostles, and, according to the consent of Antiquity, of St. Peter in particular; a witness of the simplicity of his mind, the sanctity of his life, the meekness of his instructions, and of that zealous love of Christ, for the sincerity of which this Apostle dared appeal to Him who knoweth all things [1]. With these advantages St. Mark so profited in the School of Christ, and so approved himself to his venerable director, as to merit from him the endearing title of his Son [2]; and at length, as the histories of the church relate, to be promoted to the highest rank of the pastoral office [3]. Thus being a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, he was able, we presume, to have compiled his Gospel from a store of general knowledge, and upon his own plan [4]; but that he chose to confine himself to the testimony of St. Peter, and in great measure to St. Matthew's history, *that in the mouth of two witnesses every word might be established;* sacrificing every thought and counsel of his own to the glory of God, and the edification of his church.

etiam anima pura accipit visionem Dei et Scripturarum notitiam. Theophylact in cap. v. Matthæi.

[1] John xxi. 17.

[2] 1 Pet. v. 13.

[3] He is said to have been the first bishop of Alexandria in Egypt. Cave's Hist. Literar. V. i. p. 24. Jerom in Lardner's Suppl. V. i. p. 176.

[4] Lardner, ib. p. 467.

St.

St. Luke, it is well known, was a follower of St. Paul, whom he attended with great constancy and friendship. And as strong affection works a likeness of manners, he would be led by this great Apostle's conversation, under the power of heavenly grace, to that love of truth and holiness, that spirit of resignation, fortitude, and neglect of earthly things, essential to one who was to understand the mind of Christ, and to write as He had taught and lived; and to that largeness of thought and comprehensive charity, which would be strongly impressed with such passages of his life and doctrine, as most suited a Gospel for the use of the Gentiles.

Nor was he less furnished with the knowledge than the temper of an Evangelist. Instructed by those *who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*, and by him who was taught the Gospel *by the revelation of Jesus Christ*, he had a perfect understanding of all things from the very first. And with this extent of intelligence, having different views from St. Mark, he modeled his Gospel after a different manner; and prefaced the account of our Lord's public ministry with several interesting particulars, relating to the birth of John the Baptist, the annunciation of the blessed Virgin, the nativity of Christ, and his presentation in the Temple; which, though they made no part of the testimony of a faithful witness, came within the province of a well-informed historian.

And thus God was graciously pleased to provide chosen instruments for recording the life and doctrine of his blessed Son; that what he requires us to do and believe, in order to salvation, might be delivered to us by a fit number of the best qualified persons [1].

[1] Ἵνα ἀπὸ τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων τὴν πᾶσαν κατά τε τὴν σάρκα καὶ κατὰ τὴν θειότητα ἀκρίβειαν καταχωμεν. Epiphan. Hær. LI. n. xix.

I shall

I shall now, *lastly*, suggest a few reflections arising from the subject before us.

We ascribe, and I trust with equal piety and justice, the gift of inspiration to all the Evangelists. But this must be supported against cavils and objections by a reasonable account of their consent with each other. Now if we attend properly to the nature and design of each Gospel, and the character and situation of its author, they will commonly point out the reason, why he is general or more distinct in his narration, brief in one article and copious in another; why he expresses himself in such or such a manner, or dwells on this or that particular, and passes by others, which of themselves may appear of equal or greater importance. Not only the propriety and spirit of many passages will be more conspicuous in this light, than if they are viewed in disjointed pieces, or in a blended text; but little variations of one Gospel from another will be seen to result from the genius of the work, in an equal consistence with truth; and seeming repugnances between the sacred historians will find an easy solution.

Again: the genuineness and integrity of the Gospels are matters of the greatest importance to our Christian faith: and though, God be praised, we have abundant proof of both from the consentient testimony, the numerous citations[1], the comments of antiquity, and the well-known care of the primitive and succeeding ages of the church to preserve these sacred deposits inviolate[2]; yet a religious mind

[1] See Mr. Jones's New and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, part iv.

[2] Quis dicat hoc mereri non potuisse Apostolorum ecclesiam, tam fidam, tam numerosam fratrum concordiam, ut eorum scripta fideliter ad posteros trajicerent, cum eorum cathedras usque

must observe with comfort and delight, to how great a degree the Gospels authenticate themselves.

If we take a few plain historical facts from ancient and credible authors, that four Gospels were composed by such men, on such occasions, and in such a manner, and then carefully examine the distinct characters of the Gospels as we now have them; we shall find them answer, with great exactness, to the idea given of their state in the ages of these authors [1].

But with a very few notices from other writers, an examination of the Gospels themselves will open to us a further view, and show clearly, that we possess them not only as the Fathers transmitted them, but as the Evangelists wrote them. For if we consider them attentively, we shall find in each such a plain and unstudied agreement with the circumstances of its author, and of persons and things then subsisting, as could only proceed from the Evangelist himself.

We find in St. Matthew the marks of his relation to Galilee, where he had been bred and employed: the style of one who had imbibed and retained the veneration of his people for their city and temple; who had a familiar acquaintance with the laws and maxims and manners of the Jews; and addressed himself to them in his Gospel. His language, in treating of the most significant and exalted character which hath appeared among men, is so simple and

usque ad præsentes episcopos certissima successione servaverint: cum hoc qualiumcunque hominum scriptis, sive extra ecclesiam, sive in ipsa ecclesia tanta facilitate proveniat? Augustin. contra Faustum. L. xxxiii. C. 6.

[1] Irenæus in particular, besides quoting innumerable texts from the four Gospels, tells us, B. iii. Ch. xi. how each begins: and Ch. xiv. gives a catalogue of passages peculiar to St. Luke.

unadorned,

unadorned, as to be a clear indication, that the noble and majestic, which are sometimes intermixed with this simplicity, were the plain and faithful representation of what he had seen and heard.

There are in his Gospel and in St. John's very evident tokens, that they were composed by Apostles of Christ: nor is it less conspicuous, that St. Mark's was dictated by a person of the same order.

Another character is distinguishable in St. Luke; the character of one who wrote with a comprehensive knowledge of his subject, but not as an Apostle, or eye-witness. Those little circumstances, which the description of a beholder is apt to associate with the chief action, may be observed in several places of St. Mark, and sometimes in the latter part of the Acts of the Apostles; but we hardly meet with them in St. Luke's Gospel.

He treats the failings of the Apostles with much greater tenderness than they themselves do; and calls them by this name of preeminence, which they do not assume.

When he makes mention of Christ, as from himself, he substitutes the title of Lord for the name of Jesus oftener than all the other Evangelists together. St. Matthew in his own person never uses it; St. John seldom; and St. Mark only at the end of his Gospel, where he speaks of Christ's session at the right hand of God. Perhaps St. Luke had seldom or never seen Him as *made a little lower than the angels*, whom he continually saw, in his signs and wonders, in his gifts and graces and spiritual blessings to his church, as crowned with glory and honour, and Lord of all: and what was ascendant in his thoughts had an influence on his diction.

Thus,

Thus, while the great objects proposed to us in the Gospels help to assure our minds, that our religion is from God; an inferior train of circumstances is interwoven with the history of this religion, which, if we duly attend to them, will help to satisfy us, that the history is authentic. The use of certain words or phrases by one Evangelist, the change or omission of them by another, little diversities, enlargements, or contractions, in relating the same thing; these and other incidental peculiarities, which are found in each of the Gospels, have a congruity with the characters or designs of the several Evangelists, that is so just and natural, and often consists in something so minute and insignificant in itself, as to exclude all suspicion of after-device. Hence therefore we have a powerful confirmation of the external evidence, that each Gospel is the work of the author whose name it bears, and has all along subsisted just as he published it.

But a regard not only to the peculiarities but the concurrence of the Gospels may afford us matter of instruction: with one remark on which article I shall conclude this discourse.

From the infancy of Christ till the day of his showing unto Israel, only one incident, that he was found in the Temple among the doctors, is recorded of him. Now if St. Mark confined his narration to the testimony of St. Peter, and St. John to what was done in the presence of the Disciples and himself; St. Matthew and St. Luke allowed themselves more latitude, particularly in the introductions to their Gospels; where a few chapters more would very little have affected their designed conciseness. Yet if we except this incident mentioned by St. Luke, they also are as silent as the other Evangelists concerning thirty years

years of a Life, which, in the most private and humble parts of it, was no doubt highly exemplary and instructive.

If we may presume to ask, why so strict a silence in this matter was imposed on the Evangelists by their Divine Inspirer; and then to assign reasons for it; one appears to have been, That the primary end, for which the Son of God took our nature upon him, was, that he might suffer and make atonement for sin. And therefore a veil and covering are thrown over so great a space of his life, and many bright instances of exalted love of God and man are wrapt in obscurity, that his meritorious death and passion may stand forth to view more eminent and illustrious: the history of which is circumstantially related by all the Evangelists; not to move our affections with the tragical disasters of a just person, but to call our attention to the great sacrifice of the Cross; and that with a due sense of our own demerit, and of his mighty love, we may look up to Him, "*Whom God* "*hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith* "*in his blood.*" Rom. iii. 25.

DISCOURSE THE SECOND.

A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL PROOFS.

SECT. I.

General Introduction to the following Discourses.

I SHALL endeavour in these Discourses to verify the facts which I mentioned in the Sermon as then taken for granted. They are such as cannot fail of throwing some light on the Gospels, if clear proof of them can be made: and should it fall short of certainty, it seems to me, that the inquiry itself will not be uninteresting. It will lead us to examine and compare a variety of texts; and will bring in view many passages, which either show the variations of the Evangelists to be perfectly consistent with their inspiration, or afford strong evidence of the authenticity of their writings. And though these two subjects will not be professedly resumed, yet I hope that many illustrations of them will meet the reader's notice in the course of the work; which treats more immediately of the following articles:

I. That St. Matthew was the first writer of a Gospel; that he composed it early for the instruction

tion of the Jewish people, and published it in *Judea:*

II. That St. Mark was the second Evangelist; whose Gospel was revised or even dictated by St. Peter: that it was compiled for a mixt society of Jewish and Gentile converts, and, according to all appearances, published at *Rome* or in *Italy:*

III. That the next Evangelist, St. Luke, wrote with a more peculiar view to the converted Gentiles, and, as seems likely, in *Achaia:*

IV. That St. John had seen the three former Gospels, and bore testimony to the truth of them; and wrote his own probably after the destruction of *Jerusalem in Asia Minor.*

On these several heads I will first allege authorities from ancient Christian writers; and then endeavour to bring a consonant evidence from the Gospels themselves.

But as I purpose to consider chiefly the *internal* evidence, I shall give only a summary view of the *historical;* collections of which may easily be found in learned authors, as Le Clerc in his Evangelical Harmony, Dr. Mill in the testimonies prefixed to each Gospel, Mr. Jones in his book intitled, A new and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, and Dr. Lardner in his valuable work, The Credibility of the Gospel History.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Testimonies of the Ancients concerning the Four Gospels.

1. §. ST. MATTHEW *was the first writer of a Gospel.*

THIS appears to have been a settled point among the ancient writers of the church; some of whose testimonies will follow in the next article but one.

2. §. *He wrote it within a few years of the Ascension of* Christ.

If Irenæus, in a passage which will elsewhere be examined [1], did not mean to declare when St. Matthew's Gospel was published, the earlier writers now extant have left no certain information concerning the date of it. But Cosmas of Alexandria about the year DXXXV says, that it was written in the persecution which began with the stoning of Stephen [2]. Isidore of Seville, who lived towards the close of the same century, supposes it to have been written in the reign of Caligula, which ended A. D. XLI. [3] Theophylact in the eleventh century, and Euthymius in the beginning of the twelfth, fix upon a date, for which the authority of Eusebius in his Chronicon is pleaded by some [4], but rejected by others as spurious [5]: they say, that St. Matthew compiled his Gospel in the eighth year after our Lord's ascension. The subscriptions at the end of the ancient manuscripts of this Gospel, and of the ancient translations of it, say

[1] Discourse IV. Sect. IV. § 6.
[2] Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 100.
[3] Lardner's Credibility, V. xi. p. 375.
[4] Suppl. V. i. p. 101, 102. See also the testimonies prefixed to St. Matthew's Gospel in Mill's Greek Testament.
[5] Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. V. viii. p. 176.

the

the same thing [1]. These are evidences of a prevailing opinion, that it was early written. But if they are less regarded, as authorities partly of a lower antiquity, and partly anonymous, let us recur to Cosmas of Alexandria, who stands next to the higher ages, as an interpreter of their sentiments to us.

3. §. *He wrote for the instruction of the Jews, and in Jerusalem or Judea.*

His Gospel doubtless was designed for the benefit of the universal church, as well immediately by the history and doctrine of Christ, as mediately by a right institution of the Jewish believers, who were to be the first teachers of the Gentiles. But the Holy Spirit, under whose influence it was written, seems to have guided or left St. Matthew to recite many particulars more directly relative and interesting to the Jews. This is meant by saying, that he wrote for their instruction. And this was the sense of antiquity.

Irenæus relates, B. iii. C. 1. that "Matthew among "the Hebrews published a written Gospel in their "own language;" and then speaks of the other three in the order in which we still find them.

Origen says, "that he was taught by tradition "concerning the Four Gospels, which alone are ac- "knowledged by the whole church of God, that the "first was written by Matthew, formerly a publican "and afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who "composed it in Hebrew, and published it for the

[1] Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel by Mr. Jones, p. 219. See also V. i. p. 194. of an Historical Dissertation on the books of the New Testament by Mr. Robert Cockburne, printed 1755, which seems a work of more merit than fame.

"Jews

"Jews converted to the faith [1]." So St. Jerom: "First of all Matthew the publican, surnamed Levi, "published a Gospel in Judea in the Hebrew lan- "guage, principally for the sake of the Jews believing "in Jesus [2]." And St. Augustin: "They are said "to have written in this order; first Matthew, next "Mark, then Luke, and last of all John—of these "four Matthew only is said to have written in He- "brew, the rest in Greek [3]." More authorities are needless.

Dupin, in the History of the Canon of Scripture, cites these and several other writers all affirming, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew [4]: the truth of which point has been much questioned or rather denied by learned moderns, who contend that he wrote in Greek. But there seems more reason for allowing two originals than for contesting either; the consent of antiquity pleading strongly for the *Hebrew*, and evident marks of originality for the *Greek*. There are instances of authors who have themselves published the same work in two languages. So Josephus wrote the History of the Jewish War [5]. And as St. Matthew wanted not ability nor disposition, we cannot think he wanted inducement, to "do "the work of an Evangelist" for his brethren of the common faith, Hellenists as well as Hebrews; to both of whom charity made him a debtor. The popular language of the first believers was Hebrew, what is called so by the sacred and ancient ecclesiastical writers; but they who spoke Greek quickly became a considerable part of the church of Christ.

[1] Testimonies prefixed by Mill to St. Matthew's Gospel.
[2] Præf. Comment. in Matth.
[3] De Consensu Evang. L. i. C. i. Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. V. x. p. 228.
[4] English Translation, V. ii. page 28. note (d).
[5] See his Introduction to it.

Origen,

Origen, who, as we have seen above, speaks of St. Matthew's Gospel as written in Hebrew, seems in his book on Prayer to suppose it published by him in Greek too: for in discoursing on the word Ἐπιούσιον he considers it as a word formed by the Evangelist himself [1]. Eusebius also, who in one place relates that Matthew wrote in Hebrew [Hist. B. iii. C. 24.] in another remarks, that in Chapt. xiii. ver. 35, he does not follow *the Seventy*, but as a Hebrew makes his own translation [2].

4. §. *The second writer of a Gospel was* St. Mark.

So we have just seen him placed by Irenæus and St. Augustin. Origen also [3], St. Jerom [4], and Cosmas of Alexandria [5], call him the second Evangelist: and in this order he is mentioned by the ancients in general.

5. §. *His Gospel was revised or even dictated by* St. Peter.

St. Jerom tells us, that "Mark the disciple and "interpreter of Peter, being requested by the bre-"thren at Rome, wrote a short Gospel according to "what he had heard Peter relate; and that Peter "being informed of this approved it, and delivered "it to be read in the church confirmed by his own au-"thority, as Clemens in the sixth book of his Insti-"tutions, and Papias bishop of Hierapolis write [6]." Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, mentioning a circumstance relating to St. Peter, says, that

[1] See C. clxi. p. 150. Ed. Reading.
[2] Euseb. ap. Lardner, Credib. V. viii. note (g). p. 180.
[3] See the next article.
[4] Prolog. to Comm. on St. Matthew.
[5] Lardner's Credib. V. xi. p. 267. Suppl. V. i. p. 178.
[6] Catal. Viror. illust. in Marco.

it

it is written in his Commentaries [1]; plainly referring to St. Mark's Gospel, which alone contains the whole passage here cited by Justin. Tertullian says, "that "the Gospel which was published by Mark may be "esteemed Peter's, whose interpreter he was [2]." Origen, "that the second Gospel is that according "to Mark, who wrote it as Peter dictated it to him [3]." Eusebius, "Peter testifies these things of himself, "for all things in Mark are said to be memoirs of "Peter's discourses [4]." The Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius, "The Gospel according to Mark was "dictated by Peter at Rome, and published by the "blessed Apostle Mark [5]."

6. §. *He wrote for a mixt Society of Jews and Gentiles, and probably at Rome or in Italy.*

I find no express testimony of the ancients for this account of his more general plan: but it is intimated by them, when they say, that he wrote at the request of the believers in Rome, under the inspection of St. Peter. For a part of these believers being Gentiles, St. Peter certainly paid a just attention to their circumstances; as in his first general Epistle, dated, as many think, from this same city under the name of Babylon, he shows his pastoral care not only for the converted Jews, but for those also, "who in "time past were not a people, but now are the people "of God;" that is, undoubtedly, the Gentiles. See chapt. ii. 10.

[1] Page 365. Ed. Thirlby, p. 333. Ed. Paris. See Jones's Method, Part iv. p. 91.
[2] Adv. Marcion. L. iv. C. 5.
[3] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. L. vi. C. 25.
[4] Euseb. Demonst. Evang. L. iii. C. 5. Lardner's Credib. V. viii. p. 88.
[5] Lardner's Credibility, V. viii. p. 250.

The evidence concerning the place where this Gospel was composed, part of which has been already given, is thus summed up by Dr. Lardner: "Chrysostom speaks of its being written in Egypt. But "he is almost singular. That it was written at Rome "or in Italy, is said not only by Epiphanius, Jerome, "Gregory Nazianzen, Victor, and divers others; "but the Egyptian writers likewise all along say the "same thing, that it was written by Mark at Rome, "in the company of the Apostle Peter. So say "Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, the supposed "author of the Synopsis of Scripture, Cosmas and "Eutychius, all of Alexandria. Ebedjesu likewise "in his Catalogue of Syrian Writings, says, that "Mark wrote at Rome[1]."

7. §. *The third writer of a Gospel was* St. Luke.

"He appears to have written after Matthew and "Mark, according to the judgment of almost all, "both ancients and moderns: as Irenæus, iii. 1. Tertullian against Marcion, iv. 5. Eusebius, Hist. "iii. 24. Augustin, concerning the consent of the "Evangelists, ii. 2. &c. Grotius thinks he hath observed him treading in the steps of Mark, i. 4. and "23. ii. 12. 21. iv. 20, 21. vi. 14. xii. 40. &c.[2] Clemens of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius, Hist. "vi. 14. is the only one [of the Ancients] who seems "to place him before Mark, by saying, that the Gospels which contain the Genealogies were first written." Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. B. iv. C. 5. § 4.

8. §. *He wrote with a more peculiar view to the converted Gentiles, and probably in Achaia.*

"The third Gospel," says Origen, "is that ac-"cording to Luke, commended by Paul, composed

[1] Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 184.
[2] These references are to chapters of St. Mark.

"for

" for the converted Gentiles [1]." And Fabricius observes, that there is a wonderful agreement of the ancients in making St. Luke the interpreter and attendant of St. Paul, as St. Mark of St. Peter [2]. It is said by Irenæus, that Luke wrote the Gospel which Paul preached [1]: and by Tertullian, that " some made Paul the author of his Gospel, because " it is reasonable to ascribe to the master the works " published by the disciple [3]." St Chrysostom, as was before mentioned [4], finds in it the style of St. Paul. In the Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius it is affirmed, that " the Gospel of Luke was dictated by " the Apostle Paul, and written and published by " the blessed Apostle and Physician Luke [5]."

Some suppose him to have written it at Alexandria in Egypt; but in the judgment of Dupin [6], with which Dr. Lardner concurs [7], we ought to adhere to what St. Jerom has said of it as most reasonable, that Luke composed it in Achaia or Bœotia. Gregory Nazianzen agrees with St. Jerom, and describes where the three first Gospels were written in the following distich [8].

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστοῦ,
Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλίῃ, Λουκᾶς Ἀχαΐαδι [9].

Matthew wrote the Miracles of Christ for the Jews, Mark for Italy, Luke for Achaia.

[1] See in Mill the testimonies before St. Luke.
[2] Bibl. Græc. B. iv. C. 5. p. 133.
[3] Advers. Marcion. L. iv. C. 5.
[4] Sermon, p. 10.
[5] Lardner's Credib. V. viii. p. 250.
[6] Can. of Scripture, V. ii. C. ii. Sect. v. p. 46.
[7] Supplement, V. i. p. 277.
[8] Lardner's Credibility, V. ix. p. 133.
[9] Instead of Λουκᾶς Ἀχαΐαδι, Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. L. iv. p. 132. reads, Λούκιος Ἀχαΐδι, and with others of the learned sup-

9. §. St. John *had seen the three former Gospels, and bore testimony to the truth of them.*

Eusebius relates, that, the three first-written Gospels being published to the world, and known to John, he is said to have approved them, and confirmed the truth of them with his own testimony [1]. The same account is given by St. Jerom [2], and by Sophronius [3] from him; by Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and by Cosmas of Alexandria [4].

10. §. *He wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, at Ephesus or in Asia Minor.*

Irenæus tells us, that "John published his Gospel "to root out the errors sown among men by Cerin-"thus, and long before by those who are called "Nicolaitans [5]." If he says elsewhere, that John composed his Gospel "foreseeing by the Spirit the "divisions of evil teachers," I find no inconsistence in the two accounts. He may suppose St. John to have foreseen that other evil teachers would follow Cerinthus, and to have provided both an antidote against future heresy, and a remedy for that which actually existed. St. Jerom concurs with Irenæus in saying, that "John the Apostle wrote a Gospel at the "request of the bishops of Asia against Cerinthus and "other heretics; and especially against the doctrine "of the Ebionites then springing up, that Christ had "no being till he was born of Mary [6]." This doctrine is said to have begun among the Christians at Pella,

poses Lucius mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. to be St. Luke. See Wolfius on the place.

[1] Eccl. Hist. B. ii. C. 24.

[2] Catal. Script. Eccles.

[3] For Sophronius and Theodorus see before St. John's Gospel in Mill.

[4] Lardner's Credibility, V. xi. p. 265. Supplem. V. i. p. 388.

[5] B. iii. C. xi. p. 218. Edit. Grabe, B. iii. C. xviii. p. 241.

[6] Catal Script. Eccles. n. 20.

A. D.

A. D. LXXI, the year after the destruction of Jerusalem [1]; but Cerinthus is placed about A. D. LXXX. [2] Irenæus therefore supposed St. John to have written some years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Perhaps it may not be necessary, with Epiphanius, to make it so late as when he was ninety years old [3]. And yet even at that advanced age many have retained great vigour of understanding, and even of memory, especially with regard to the occurrences of their earlier days: and whenever St. John wrote, it was of a subject graven deep on his mind by constant meditation and daily discourse of it. Irenæus says further, that he published his Gospel at Ephesus [4]; and it seems allowed by all, that he did it in some part of Asia Minor. Theodorus of Mopsuestia [5], and Cosmas of Alexandria [6], inform us, that his usual residence was at Ephesus.

The earlier fathers leave us most to seek concerning the precise times in which the Gospels were written. With regard to order and place they are more explicit. And Isidore of Seville, who lived about A. D. DLXXXXV, delivers their sentiments in general as well as his own in the following passage:

"Of the four Evangelists the first and last relate "what they had heard Christ say, or seen him per-"form. The other two, placed between them, re-"late those things which they had learned from "Apostles. Matthew wrote his Gospel first, in "Judea; then Mark, in Italy; Luke the third, in "Achaia; John the last, in Asia [7]."

[1] Cave's Hist. Literar. Conspectus Sæcl. Apost. p. 1
[2] Ib. p. 36.
[3] Hæres. 41. n. 12. p. 432. Ed. Cologn. 1682.
[4] B. iii. C. i.
[5] See Mill before St. John's Gospel.
[6] Lardner's Suppl. V. i. p. 388.
[7] Ib. p. 223.

Ancient Writers mentioned in this Discourse, and the Times, according to Dr. Cave, in which they flourished.

Papias — — — —	A. D. 110
Justin Martyr — — — —	140
Irenæus — — — — —	167
Tertullian — — — — —	192
Clemens of Alexandria — — —	192
Origen — — — — —	230
Eusebius — — — — —	315
Athanasius — — — — —	326
Epiphanius — — — — —	368
Gregory Nazianzen — — —	370
St. Jerom — — — — —	378
Sophronius — — — — —	390
St. Augustin — — — — —	396
St. Chrysostom — — — —	398
Victor of Antioch — — — —	401
Theodorus of Mopsuestia — — —	407
Cosmas of Alexandria — — —	535
Eutychius — — — —	553
Isidore of Seville — — — —	595
Theophylact — — — —	1077
Euthymius — — — — —	1116
Ebedjesu, according to Dr. Lardner, —	1300

DISCOURSE THE THIRD.

Preparations for determining the Order of the Evangelists by internal Evidence.

SECT. I.

The question proposed, Whether the succeeding Evangelists had seen the foregoing Gospels.

I SHALL now attempt to confirm the foregoing articles by proofs taken from the Gospels themselves.

But the argument from internal evidence is so connected in many instances with the question, *Whether the succeeding Evangelists had seen the former Gospels*, that it is first necessary to consider this question. And the great use of deciding it must be my apology for the length of debating it.

It may be taken for granted, at least for the present, that St. John had seen the Gospels written before

fore his own. The inquiry is limited to St. Matthew, St Mark, and St. Luke: from whose Gospels I will first bring together some parallel passages, with a few remarks intermixt; and then examine what conclusion we may justly draw from the uniformity of these passages.

The comparisons are made in our common version. But the reader will perceive, that here and there a word is altered. This was done chiefly because the translators have sometimes rendered the same words by different, or different by the same; and I was desirous of giving as exact an idea as I could of the agreement of the texts in the places compared [1].

SECT. II.

Parallel Passages of St. Matthew *and* St. Mark.

1. §. Matth. iv. 17—22.	Mark i. 14—20.
17. *From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*	14. *Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God,*
	15. *And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.*

[1] They who would judge from the originals will find some of the following instances standing collaterally in the Harmonies which have been published in Greek. The accuracy of Monsieur Toinard's is such, that the smallest agreement or variation of the texts may be seen with the greatest facility in all parts of the Gospels which he deems to be parallel. See also the learned Dr. Owen's valuable Observations on the Four Gospels: in which a number of passages are compared in Greek; either the same, or to the same purpose, as these which are here compared in English.

18. *And*

Matth. iv. 17—22.	Mark i. 14—20.
18. *And Jesus, walking*	16. *Now as he was going*
by the sea of Galilee,	*by the sea of Galilee,*
saw two brethren, Simon	*he saw two brethren, Simon*
called Peter,	
and Andrew his brother,	*and Andrew his brother,*
casting a net into the sea:	*casting a net in the sea:*
(for they were fishers;)	(for they were fishers;)
19. *And he saith unto them,*	17. *And Jesus said unto them,*
Follow me, and I will make	*Follow me, and I will make*
you fishers of men.	*you to become fishers of men.*
20. *And straightway they left*	18. *And straightway they left*
their nets, and followed him.	*their nets, and followed him.*
21. *And going on from thence*	19. *And going on from thence*
he saw other two brethren	*a little further he saw*
James the son of Zebedee,	*James the son of Zebedee,*
and John his brother,	*and John his brother,*
in a ship	*who also were in a ship*
with Zebedee their father,	
mending their nets:	*mending their nets.*
and he called them.	20. *And straightway he called*
	them:
22. *And they straightway left*	*and they left*
the ship and their father,	*their father Zebedee in the ship*
	with the hired servants,
and followed him.	*and went after him.*

St. Matthew and St. Mark, who pass over what our Lord did in Judea and other parts in the interval between his Temptation and John's imprisonment, both open the history of his public ministry with the calling of St. Peter; which they relate in the same words, even to the parenthesis, *For they were fishers.*

But this is, as it were, the surface of their conformity, which goes deeper. For this calling of St. Peter is, in the judgement of many learned commentators and harmonists [1], the very same which St. Luke thus describes:

[1] Grotius, Hammond, on the place. Spanheim, Dub. Evangel. Par. iii. Dub. 72. p. 338. Chemnitius, Cradock, Lightfoot, Le Clerc, Doddridge, in their Harmonies. Spanheim has particularly considered and answered the chief objections. One remark of Spanheim is, Non temerè multiplicandas esse historias, quæ eædem deprehenduntur, quod cum Osiandro sine necessitate faciunt

Ch. v. *And it came to pass, that as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesareth.*

And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing their nets.

And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down and taught the people out of the ship.

Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all night and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes; and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto their partners which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord.

For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of fishes which they had taken:

And so was also James and John the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men.

And when they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all and followed him.

This account will be found on a near inspection, to tally marvelously with the preceding, and to be one of the evidences, that the Evangelists vary only in the number or choice of circumstances, and write

faciunt illi, qui nullas ὑστερώσεις et πεολήψεις apud sacros scriptores admittunt. See also the learned Bishop of Waterford's Harmony of the Gospels, § 26. and p. 13. of the notes.

from

from the same idea of the fact which they lay before us. Every one knows, that the *Sea of Galilee* and the *Lake of Gennesareth* are the same. And though St. Matthew and St. Mark do not expressly tell us that St. Peter was in his vessel when he was called by Christ, they signify as much in saying, that *he was casting a net into the sea;* for this supposes him to be aboard, and our Lord in the vessel with him, as St. Luke relates. The latter does not mention St. Andrew, either here or elsewhere, except in giving the catalogue of the Apostles, vi. 14. and perhaps may design to suggest, that the prophetic promise of *catching men*, principally respected St Peter. However, the sense of this promise is precisely the same with that of being *fishers of men*. Again, St Luke tells us, that James and John the sons of Zebedee assisted Peter in landing the fish which he had taken; and that *when they*, that is, the four partners, *had brought their* ships *to land, they forsook all, and followed Christ*. And here also this Evangelist harmonizes with the two others St. Mark says, that *When Christ had gone a little further thence*, from the place where Peter and Andrew began to follow him, he *saw James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, who* also *were in a ship*, as Peter had been when he was called [1], *mending their nets*, their nets torn by the weight of fish which they had hauled to shore; *and straightway he called them—and they went after him*, in company with Peter and Andrew.

The two accounts, that of St. Matthew and St. Mark on one side, and that of St. Luke on the other, thus concurring in the place and situation in which St. Peter was called, in the promise made to him,

[1] I see not what else *also* can refer to. Καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ is the original: the latter part of which I have rendered, *In a ship;* as our Translators do the same words, in Matth. iv. 21. So De Beausobre and L'Enfant, Dans une barque.

and

and the time when he was called, speak evidently of the same vocation. Consequently St. Matthew and St. Mark have abridged the story. And the very same abridgement of it being found in both, the inference to be drawn from their agreement scarce needs any proof, but what this example furnishes.

Only one circumstance is peculiar to St. Mark, that John and James left their father Zebedee in the ship *with the hired servants;* which shows, that Christ in calling them, and They in obeying the call, did not leave the father destitute of assistance to carry on his business. A circumstance worthy to be noted by an Evangelist who wrote, either where it was not known, or when it might be forgotten.

The argument, as far as it turns on identity of language in comparing St. Matthew with St. Mark or St. Luke, supposes the originality of St. Matthew's Greek. This learned moderns have maintained so strenuously, as to deny that he wrote also in Hebrew. Without intermeddling with the latter question, I hope to confirm the former by a few observations, which will arise here and there in the course of this work.

2. §. Matth. xiii. 1—9.	Mark iv. 1—9.
1. *The same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-side:*	1. *And he began to teach by the sea-side:*
2. *And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat, and the whole multitude stood on the shore.*	*and a great multitude was gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat in the sea, and the whole multitude was by the sea on the land.*
3. *And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying,*	2. *And he taught them many things in parables, and said unto them in his doctrine,*
Behold, a sower went forth to sow:	3. *Hearken, Behold, a sower went forth to sow:*
4. *And when he sowed,*	4. *And it came to pass when he sowed,*

some

Matth. xiii. 1—9.	Mark iv. 1—9.
some fell by the way-side,	*some fell by the way-side,*
and the fowls came	*and the fowls of the air came*
and devoured them up.	*and devoured it up.*
5. *And some fell on stony ground,*	5. *And some fell on stony ground,*
where they had not much earth,	*where it had not much earth,*
and forthwith they sprang up,	*and forthwith it sprang up,*
because they had no deepness	*because it had no deepness*
of earth:	*of earth:*
6. *And the sun being up, they*	6. *And when the sun was up, it*
were scorched, and because	*was scorched, and because*
they had not root, they	*it had not root, it*
withered away.	*withered away.*
7. *And some fell among thorns,*	7. *And some fell among thorns,*
and the thorns sprang up	*and the thorns sprang up*
and choked them.	*and choked it,*
	and it yielded no fruit.
8. *But other fell on good ground,*	8. *And other fell on good ground,*
and brought forth fruit,	*and brought forth fruit,*
	that sprang up and increased,
	and yielded
some an hundred-fold, some	*some thirty-fold, some sixty-fold,*
sixty-fold, some thirty-fold.	*and some an hundred-fold.*
	9. *And he said unto them,*
9. *Who hath ears to hear,*	*Who hath ears to hear,*
let him hear.	*let him hear.*

In relating this parable, St. Mark has here and there supplied a word or small circumstance omitted by St. Matthew: in speaking of the seed that was sown he has altered the plural to the singular, as in the explication he makes just the contrary change[1]; and he has inverted the close of the sentence in verse 8. These little variations in a few places make it evident, that such exact concurrence as we observe in the rest, was not requisite to a just representation of the parable: which will appear in a stronger light to the learned reader, who will consult the Greek text of Luke viii. 1—8, and compare it with these, particularly in the seventh verse of all three.

[1] Ver. 19—23. of Matthew, ver. 14—20. of Mark.

The

The parable was delivered in public, and followed by several others spoken at the same time. The Evangelists, however, all agree to suspend the narration of them, and to insert the exposition of this, which was not given till afterwards to the disciples in private [1].

3. §. Matth. xx. 24—28.	Mark x. 41—45.
24. *And when the Ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the two brethren.*	41. *And when the Ten heard it, they began to be moved with indignation against James and John.*
25. *But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that they which rule over the Gentiles, exercise dominion over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them.*	42. *But Jesus called them unto him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles, exercise dominion over them; and they of them that are great, exercise authority upon them.*
26. *But it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister:*	43. *But it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister:*
27. *And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant:*	44. *And whosoever will be chief among you, shall be servant of all:*
28. *Even as the son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.*	45. *For even the son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.*

The likeness or rather sameness of expression in these paragraphs is too visible to need any remarks upon it.

4. §. Matth. xxi. 23—27.	Mark xi. 27—33.
23. *And when he was come into the Temple, the chief priests, and the elders of the people, came unto him,*	27. *And as he was walking in the Temple, the chief priests and the scribes, and the elders, come unto him,*

[1] Mark iv. 10.

as

Matth. xxi. 23—27.

as he was teaching,
and said,
By what authority doest
thou these things? and who
gave thee this authority?

24. *And Jesus answered and*
said unto them, I also will
ask you one thing,
which if ye will tell me,
I in like wise will tell you
by what authority I do these
things.
25. *The baptism of John,*
whence was it?
from Heaven or of men?

And they reasoned with them-
selves, saying, If we shall say,
From Heaven, he will say unto
us, Why then did ye not
believe him?
26. *But if we shall say, Of men,*
we fear the people:
for all hold John
as a prophet.
27. *And they answered Jesus*
and said, We cannot tell.
And he said unto them,

Neither tell I you, by what
authority I do these things.

Mark xi. 27—33.

28. *And say unto him,*
By what authority doest
thou these things? and who
gave thee this authority
to do these things?
29. *And Jesus answered and*
said unto them, I also will
ask you one thing,
and answer me, and
I will tell you
by what authority I do these
things.
30. *The baptism of John,*
was it
from Heaven or of men?
answer me.
31. *And they reasoned with them-*
selves, saying, If we shall say,
From Heaven, he will say,
Why then did ye not
believe him?
32. *But if we shall say, Of men,*
they feared the people:
for all held John
that he was a prophet indeed.
33. *And they answered and said*
unto Jesus, We cannot tell.
And Jesus answering saith unto
them,
Neither tell I you, by what
authority I do these things.

The rulers, who conferred among themselves on the question proposed to them, were all of one mind about the difficulty of answering it; but did not all express the danger of owning their real sentiments in the same terms; for while some said, *We fear the people*, others declared, *All the people will stone us.* Luke xx. 6. There was therefore, at least in this particular, a liberty of varying in words without departing from the truth.

5. §. Matth. xxiv. 32—35.	Mark xiii. 28—31.
32. *Now learn a parable of the fig-tree ; when her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh :*	28. *Now learn a parable of the fig-tree ; when her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh :*
33. *So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things,*	29. *So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things come to pass,*
know that it is near, even at the doors.	*know that it is near, even at the doors.*
34. *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled.*	30. *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass until all these things be fulfilled.*
35. *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.*	31. *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.*

Luke xxi. 29. *And he spake to them a parable : Behold the fig-tree*, and all the trees ;
30. *When they now shoot forth, ye see and know of your ownselves, that summer is now nigh at hand.*
31. *So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.*

The opening of the parable, as it stands in St. Luke, shows that Christ did not instance in the budding of the fig-tree only, but of that *and all the trees*, as a sign of approaching summer.

6. §. Matth. xxvii. 39—44.	Mark xv. 29—32.
39. *And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads,*	29. *And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads,*
40. *And saying, Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself ; if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.*	*and saying, ah ! Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days,* 30. *Save thyself, and come down from the cross.*
41. *Likewise also the chief priests*	31. *Likewise also the chief priests mocking,*

Matth. xxvii. 39—44.	Mark xv. 29—32.
mocking, said with the scribes and elders,	*mocking, said among themselves with the scribes,*
42. *He saved others, himself he cannot save. If he be the king of Israel,*	*He saved others, himself he cannot save.* 32. *The Christ, the king of Israel,*
let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.	*let him now come down from the cross, that we may see and believe.*
43. *He trusted in God; let him deliver him now if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.*	
44. *After the same manner also the thieves that were crucified with him, reviled him.*	*And they that were crucified with him, reviled him.*

I will here place St. Luke's account of the same things opposite to St. Mark's.

Mark xv. 29—32.	Luke xxiii. 35—40.
	35. *And the people stood beholding,*
29. *And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads and saying, Ah! thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days,* 30. *Save thyself and come down from the cross.*	
31. *Likewise also the chief priests mocking, said among themselves with the scribes,*	*and the rulers also with them derided him, saying,*
He saved others, himself he cannot save. 32. *The Christ, the king of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, that we may see and believe.*	*He saved others, let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God.*
	36. *And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar,* 37. *And saying, If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.*
	* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Mark xv. 29—32.	Luke xxiii. 35—40.
And they that were crucified with him reviled him.	39. *And one of the malefactors, which were hanged, railed on him, saying, If thou be the Christ, save thyself and us.* 40. *But the other answering, rebuked him.*

We perceive by this last comparison, that St. Luke differs a little in expression from St. Mark; that he mentions the insult of the soldiers, of which the other takes no notice; and that he is much more distinct in the history of the two crucified thieves. It is therefore to be considered, why St. Mark, from whom St. Luke thus varies, accords so entirely with St. Matthew in relating the same train of particulars in the same language.

I must beg leave to observe on this occasion, that the Evangelists have represented the different taunts of *Jews* and *Romans* with the most precise adherence to propriety and truth. The *Jews* reviled our Lord as pretending to be *king of Israel*. So they constantly spoke of their *Messiah*[1]. The *Roman* soldiers derided him as *king of the Jews*: which was the title always used by the Gentiles for the same person[2]. Thus the Wise Men, who came to worship our Saviour at his nativity, inquired after him, *Where is he that is born king of the Jews?* And this is a sufficient proof, that they were not *Jews* themselves, as a late learned Commentator on the Gospels supposes them to have been[3].

[1] See Matth. xxvii. 42. Mark xv. 32. John i. 49. xii. 13.

[2] Matth. ii. 2. xxvii. 11. 29. 37. Mark xv. 2. 9. 12. 18. 26. Luke xxiii. 3. 37. 38. John xviii. 33. 39. xix. 3. 19.

[3] Bishop Pearce in his Commentary and Notes on the Four Evangelists. See note on Matth. ii. 1.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Parallel passages of St. Matthew *and* St. Luke.

1. §. Matth. iii. 7—12.

7. *But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?*
8. *Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance,*
9. *And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.*
10. *And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

11. *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.*
12. *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.*

Luke iii. 7—9, 16, 17.

7. *Then said he to the multitudes that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?*
8. *Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.*
9. *And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

* * * * * * * * *

16. *John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one cometh mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.*
17. *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather the wheat into his garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.*

Mark i. 7, 8. *And [John] preached, saying, There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.*

I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

If we except the substitution of *the multitudes* for *many of the Pharisees and Sadducees*, the reason of which will appear hereafter[1]; and that St. Luke varies from St. Matthew, as he does from himself (Acts xiii. 25.) in the proverbial phrase of *bearing* or *loosing* the shoes; this summary of the Baptist's instructions, as far as it is recited by St. Matthew, stands sentence for sentence, and almost word for word, the same in St. Luke. Yet John not only said "*many other things in his exhortation to the* "*people*," but sometimes delivered these very things in another order, as may be seen by the short paragraph of St. Mark subjoined to the other two.

2. §. Matth. xi. 2—11.	Luke vii. 19—28.
2. *Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ,*	19. *And John calling unto him two of his*
sending two of his disciples,	*disciples, sent them unto Jesus,*
3. *He said unto him,*	*saying,*
Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?	*Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?*
	23. *When the men were come unto him, they said, John Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?*
	21. *And in that same hour he cured many of their infirmities, and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight.*

[1] Disc. vi. Sect. 1.

4. *Then*

Matth. xi. 2—11.	Luke vii. 19—28.
4. *Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye do hear and see.*	22. *Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard.*
5. *The blind see, and the lame walk,*	*The blind see, the lame walk,*
the lepers are cleansed,	*the lepers are cleansed,*
the deaf hear,	*the deaf hear,*
the dead are raised,	*the dead are raised,*
and the poor have the gospel preached unto them.	*the poor have the gospel preached unto them.*
6. *And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me.*	23. *And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me.*
7. *And as they departed, Jesus began*	24. *And when the messengers of John were departed, he began*
to say to the multitudes concerning John,	*to say unto the multitudes concerning John,*
What went ye out into the wilderness for to see?	*What went ye out into the wilderness for to see?*
a reed shaken with the wind?	*a reed shaken with the wind?*
8. *But what went ye out for to see?*	25. *But what went ye out for to see?*
a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft clothing,	*a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately,*
are in kings houses.	*are in kings courts.*
9. *But what went ye out for to see?*	26. *But what went ye out for to see?*
a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.	*a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.*
10. *For this is he of whom it is written,*	27. *This is he of whom it is written,*
Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.	*Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.*
11. *Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater*	28. *For I say unto you, Among them that are born of women, there is not a greater*
than John the Baptist: notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven, is greater than he.	*prophet than John the Baptist: notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of God, is greater than he.*

St.

St. Matthew, who as usually hastens on to the discourse of Christ, only intimates in these words, "*Go "your way, and tell John what things ye do hear "and see,*" that our Lord at that time did many miracles. This St. Luke declares in express terms. In other respects the relation is almost verbatim the same in both Evangelists.

3. §. Matth. xi. 21—23.	Luke x. 13—15.
21. *Wo unto thee, Chorazin; wo unto thee, Bethsaida: for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes.*	13. *Wo unto thee, Chorazin; wo unto thee, Bethsaida: for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.*
22. *But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement than for you.*	14. *But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgement, than for you.*
23. *And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell.*	15. *And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell.*

Though Christ must have often visited *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida*, the two Evangelists no where take notice that he had been at either. Yet St. Luke is apt to order and dispose his narration in such a manner, that the preceding part may illustrate the subsequent[1]. And this makes his correspondence with St. Matthew in relating the *wo* denounced against these cities the more remarkable.

4. §. Matth. xxiv. 45—51.	Luke xii. 42—46.
45. *Who then is that faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?*	42. *Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?*

[1] See Disc. vi. Sect. 1.

46. *Blessed*

Matth. xxiv. 45—51.	Luke xii. 42—46.
46. *Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.*	43. *Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.*
47. *Verily I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all his goods.*	44. *Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all his goods.*
48. *But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My Lord delayeth his coming;*	45. *But and if that servant shall say in his heart, My Lord delayeth his coming;*
49. *And shall begin to smite his fellow servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken;*	*and shall begin to smite the men servants and maidens, and to eat and drink and be drunken;*
50. *The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not ware of;*	46. *The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not ware of:*
51. *And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the* hypocrites.	*and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the* unbelievers.

This monition, and the denunciation just mentioned, were twice delivered. St. Matthew recites them as spoken on one occasion, St. Luke on another; yet there is hardly any variation of language between them, till we come to the two last words of the latter parallel; where we find *hypocrites* in St. Matthew, and *unbelievers* in St. Luke. It is very possible that Christ might mention both [1]; and each Evangelist chose the term that was most to his purpose. If each wrote with a view to different classes of converts, the very nature of his design must occasion such small diversities: which cannot affect the conclusion to be drawn from their accordance.

[1] So Grotius supposes on Matth. xxiv 51.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Parallel passages of St. Mark *and* St. Luke.

1. §. Mark i. 21—28.

21. *And they went into Capernaum;*

and straightway on the sabbath-day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.
22. *And they were astonished at his doctrine:*
for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.
23. *And there was in their synagogue a man*
with an unclean spirit,

and he cried out,

24. *Saying,* Let us alone;
what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?
art thou come to destroy us?
I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.
25. *And Jesus rebuked him, saying,*
Hold thy peace, and come out of him.
26. *And when the unclean spirit had torn him,*
and cried with a loud voice,
he came out of him.

27. *And they were all amazed,*

insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying,
What thing is this?
what new doctrine is this?
for with authority
he commandeth even the unclean spirits,

Luke iv. 31—37.

31. *And* [*he*] *came down to Capernaum,*
a city of Galilee,
and was teaching them on the sabbath-day.

32. *And they were astonished at his doctrine;*
for his word was with authority.

33. *And there was in the synagogue a man*
which had a spirit of an unclean devil,
and he cried out
with a loud voice,
34. *Saying,* Let us alone;
what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?
art thou come to destroy us?
I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.
35. *And Jesus rebuked him, saying,*
Hold thy peace, and come out of him.
And when the devil had thrown him in the midst,

he came out of him,
and hurt him not.
36. *And they were all in amazement,*
and spake among themselves, saying,
What a word is this?

for with authority and power
he commandeth the unclean spirits,

and

Mark i. 21—28.	Luke iv. 31—37.
and they obey him.	*and they come out.*
28. *And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.*	37. *And a report concerning him went out into every place of the region around about.*

This miracle, recited only by St. Mark and St. Luke, is the first miraculous cure mentioned by either of them: though Christ had done some before in this very city of *Capernaum*. Luke iv. 23. It is prefaced in both with the same observation on the authority of his doctrine, and closed with the same remark on the spreading of his fame: which remark is the more to be noted in St. Luke, as it was said by him a little above, ver. 14. "*And there went out* "*a fame of him through all the region round* "*about*;" and he is very sparing of repetitions [1].

The first word of the demoniac's speech, Εα, which is translated, *Let us alone*, is in the opinion of able critics not a verb, but a Greek interjection, not often found in prose writers, and no where else in the New Testament [2]: which made Grotius not hesitate to say, that here certainly Luke copied Mark, with the change only of a few words.

St. Luke makes no comparison of Christ with the Scribes, but says only, that "*His word was with authority.*" This is agreeable to his method of deferring to name what he cannot yet explain [3].

2. §. Mark x. 17—20.	Luke xviii. 18—21.
17. *And when he was gone forth into the way, there came one running, and kneeled to him, and asked him,*	18. *And a certain ruler asked him, saying,*

[1] See Disc. iv. Sect. v. § 6. note.
[2] Raphelii Annot. in Marc. i. 24.
[3] See Disc. vi. Sect. i.

Good

2. §. Mark x. 17—20.	Luke xviii. 18—21.
Good master, what shall I do	*Good master, what having done*
that I may inherit eternal life?	*shall I inherit eternal life?*
18. *And Jesus said unto him,*	19. *And Jesus said unto him,*
Why callest thou me good?	*Why callest thou me good?*
There is none good but one,	*There is none good but one,*
that is, God.	*that is, God.*
19. *Thou knowest the command-*	20. *Thou knowest the command-*
ments,	*ments,*
Do not commit adultery.	*Do not commit adultery,*
Do not kill, Do not steal,	*Do not kill, Do not steal,*
Do not bear false witness,	*Do not bear false witness,*
Defraud not,	
Honour thy father and mother.	*Honour thy father and mother.*
20. *And he answered and said*	21. *And he said,*
unto him,	
Master, all these things	*All these things*
have I observed from my youth.	*have I observed from my youth.*

The circumstance, that "*When Jesus was gone forth into the way there came one running and kneeled to him,*" is one of those little incidents that characterize the narration of a beholder. Of these there are many in St. Mark, which St. Luke would naturally omit. Otherwise there is almost a perfect uniformity in the two passages; and it is distinguished by an inversion of the sixth and seventh commandments, and a translation of them different from the *Septuagint*, which St. Luke usually follows. The *Septuagint* says, and St. Matthew here agrees with it, *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery;* St. Mark and St. Luke, *Do not commit adultery, Do not kill.*

In another place they both deviate a little from St. Matthew and the *Septuagint*, who say, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul;* to which they add, *And with all thy strength.* Deut. vi. 5. Matth. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27.

3. §. Mark xii. 38—40.

38. *And he said unto them in his doctrine,*

Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and salutations in the market places,
39. *And the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts;*
40. *Devouring widows houses, and for a pretence making long prayers: these shall receive greater damnation.*

Luke xx. 45—47.

45. *Then in the audience of all the people, he said unto his disciples,*
46. *Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love salutations in the markets, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts;*
47. *Which devour widows houses and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive greater damnation.*

There are two things in this parallel which deserve our attention:

1. Our Lord delivered a much longer discourse on the subject of the Scribes and Pharisees [Matth. xxiii.] out of which both Evangelists have selected these particulars only.

2. They coincide in the arrangement of them; which in one place exactly inverts the order of St. Matthew. This St. Luke rarely does, and then chiefly in conjunction with St. Mark.

Matth. xxiii. 6, 7. | Mark. | Luke.

And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and salutations in the markets.

And love salutations in the markets, and the chief seats in the synagogues,

And the uppermost rooms at feasts.

4. §. Mark xiv. 13—16.

13. *And he sendeth two of his disciples,*

Luke xxii. 8—13.

8. *And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat.*
9. *And*

Mark xiv. 13—16.	Luke xxii. 8—13.
	9. *And they said unto him,*
	Where wilt thou that we prepare?
and saith unto them,	10. *And he said unto them,*
Go ye into the city, and	*Behold, when ye are entered into the city,*
there shall meet you a man	*there shall meet you a man*
bearing a pitcher of water:	*bearing a pitcher of water:*
follow him.	*follow him into the house,*
14. *And wheresoever he shall go in,*	*where he entereth in.*
say ye to the good-man,	11. *And ye shall say to the good-man of the house,*
The master saith,	*The master saith unto thee,*
Where is the guest-chamber,	*Where is the guest-chamber,*
where I shall eat the passover	*where I shall eat the passover*
with my disciples?	*with my disciples?*
15. *And he will show you a large*	12. *And he will show you a large*
upper room furnished and prepared:	*upper room furnished:*
there make ready.	*there make ready.*
16. *And his disciples went,*	13. *And they went,*
and came into the city,	
and found as he had said unto them;	*and found as he had said unto them;*
and they made ready the passover.	*and they made ready the passover.*

St Mark and St. Luke are much more explicit than St. Matthew in relating our Lord's directions to the two disciples whom he sent on this occasion. The incidents that were to happen are told by both in the same words; and both style the upper room, where the passover was to be kept, Ἀνώγεον which is an uncommon name, and is found in no other part of the New Testament.

The word *prepared* in ver. 15 of St. Mark is not superfluous. It alludes to the manner of making the room ready for the celebration of the passover: which was examined in every hole and corner by the light of wax candles, and cleared from the smallest crumb of leaven with a scrupulous nicety[1]. As the

[1] Ainsworth on Exod. xii. 15.

time

time perhaps was short, that the two disciples might better attend to the other parts of their office, the care of searching the room was providentially superseded, as our Lord intimates by this word. The room, into which they would be conducted, was not only furnished with necessary accommodations, but *prepared* according to the ritual. And no wonder that St. Mark from the mouth of St. Peter, who found it so, relates this circumstance. But the obscurity of it to those who were not versed in Jewish affairs (which probably made some copyists leave out the word *prepared* as a gloss upon the preceding) would induce St. Luke to pass it over.

St. Mark in turn omits a particular mentioned by St. Luke; that is, the names of the two disciples sent on this errand. This he did, as will be shown in another place, because St. Peter was one of them.

The variations of the Evangelists carry a plain reason generally with them. Our present inquiry is after the cause of their agreement.

SECT. V.

Conclusion drawn from the preceding comparisons, and confirmed by some other considerations.

Let me then ask, how we are to account for this exact concurrence of the Evangelists in so many places. Shall we impute it to *accident*, or *necessity*, or *divine influence?*

1. §. It cannot, with any show of probability, be ascribed to *accident*, even in the recital of our Lord's discourses.

discourses. Let the Evangelists here, if you will, be considered as translators. The rendering of a few periods only into another language will seldom be performed by two persons perfectly alike. Of which take an instance from our common version, in a sentence translated severally from the same words in St. Mark and St. Luke:

Mark xii. 38, 39.	Luke xx. 46.
Which love to go *in long* clothing,	*Which* desire to walk *in long* robes,
and love salutations in the market-places;	*and love* greetings in the markets;
and the chief *seats in the synagogues, and the* uppermost *rooms at feasts.*	*and the* highest *seats in the synagogues, and the* chief *rooms at feasts.*

The two versions of this short and easy sentence have seven variations. The Hebrew or Syriac, in which our Lord spoke his instructions, and the Greek, in which the Evangelists relate them, were languages of a dissimilar genius, as Josephus a judge of both intimates[1]. This increases the improbability, that the translations of different hands from the one into the other should exactly coincide. But indeed the Evangelists did not translate the speeches of Christ as from a book lying before them. His discourses were continued; and an abridgment was to be made, or parts selected. And yet whether they give a summary of the whole, or choose out particular passages, there is often a full agreement between them.

The same obtains in the history of his actions. The deeds of piety, and works of wonder and beneficence, done by him, were all important; and every circumstance with which he did them, as bearing the impress and character of divine, was worthy of perpetual memory. We find however a general uniformity of the three first Evangelists, in recording

[1] Preface to his Antiquities.

the

the same miracles and actions; and frequently in two of them a description and omission of the very same particulars. In so ample a field they must confine their walk; but it is utterly improbable, that they should so repeatedly, and in very critical points, tread full in each other's steps by mere *accident*.

2. §. They were not compelled to this agreement by a *necessity* arising from the laws of truth. It is evident that our Lord's discourses did not so absolutely confine them; since even one of the most solemn and awful is in some parts variously expressed by them. In the institution of the Eucharist, what St. Matthew and St. Mark translate, *This is my blood of the New Testament;* St. Luke and St. Paul render, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood*[1]. What in St. Luke is, *My body given for you;* is in St. Paul, *My body broken for you.* What our Lord calls in St. Matthew, *My Father's kingdom;* he styles in St. Mark, *The kingdom of God.* Now as each of these inspired writers has, beyond all doubt, faithfully represented the meaning of Christ; we see that it might be truly done in different words, or in a different form of the same words.

His sentences also sometimes admitted a difference of arrangement: for the order in which two sentences, or the several members of the same sentence, are disposed by St. Matthew, is in several places inverted by St. Mark.

And with regard to his actions, though the most material parts of whatever they were going to relate must command their attention; yet there was no such

[1] See Matth. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24. Luke xxii. 20. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

superior

superior attraction in one specific number and order of secondary circumstances, as could turn their thoughts absolutely and exclusively to them. This is plain from instances of the contrary. One Evangelist is sometimes distinct where another is concise, and describes what the other passes over.

3. §. If the agreement which I speak of was not necessary to the truth, it seems already determined, that it is not to be ascribed to the immediate operation of Heaven. The Holy Spirit sanctified their hearts with a lively and powerful sense of spiritual things; enlightened their minds with a just knowledge of the truth; and endued them with wisdom to relate the life of Christ in a manner becoming the subject and suited to their several designs. And these gifts, which exalted the natural powers of the mind without destroying them, would produce *verity* and *propriety*, but not *identity* of relation. *This* must have proceeded, if the Holy Spirit was the author of it, from so many special acts of his over-ruling influence. But the scriptural history of Providence instructs us, that Heaven interposes miraculously, and grants extraordinary aids so far only as is necessary. The Angel, whose light shone round St. Peter in the prison, who made his chains fall off, and led him through dangers and impediments which human ability could not surmount, suffered him to go on by himself when his own discretion could direct him [1]. And in like manner we may conceive, that *the illuminating Spirit*, who took the Evangelists by the hand to conduct them clear of error and into all the truth, left them to the exercise of that habitual wisdom which he had given them, where it was a sufficient guide; as seems the case in the following and similar instances:

[1] Acts xii. 6—10.

St.

St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke[1], call our Lord's figurative speeches *parables* invariably, even those that come under the common notion of *proverbs*: but St. John[2] as constantly styles them *proverbs*, where the appellation of *parables* would be as proper, if we were to distinguish between them.

St. Matthew and St. Luke relate the very same particulars of our Lord's Temptation in the wilderness, but do not dispose them in the same order[3].

In which instances it is surely more adviseable to think, that they were left to their own option, than to suppose them unequally instructed, if there were a superior excellence in either mode of expression and arrangement; or, if both were matter of much indifference, that there was any direction of Heaven when none was requisite.

This is consonant to the sentiments of learned and judicious divines and commentators[4]; who, without a wish or thought of circumscribing the inspiration

[1] Consult the original of Luke iv. 23.

[2] See the original of John x. 6.

[3] Matth. iv. 1—11. Luke iv. 1—12.

[4] Lowth's Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament, 2d Ed. Ch. i. p. 34.

Atterbury's Sermons, Vol iii. p. 236.

Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament, on John vi. 19. p. 96.

Twells's Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 43.

Archbp. Secker's Sermons, V. vi. Serm. i. on 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. p. 6.

Witsii Miscellanea Sacra, L. i. C. xxii. § 19.

Beausobre et L'Enfant, Preface generale, p. 154.

Horbery's Sermons, p. 182. 252. Oxford, 1774. The inspiration of Scripture is treated in Sermon vii, viii, ix, with great accuracy by this late valuable author; who was as much loved by all who knew him for a pleasing simplicity of manners, as admired for strength and clearness of reasoning.

of the Evangelists within undue limits, yet hold that diction and method were in great measure their own.

Again: St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, in describing the miracle of feeding the five thousand, mention the *grass* on which the multitude sat down; but St. Luke takes no notice of it. Now surely we need not deduce the difference from Heaven when a sufficient reason of it arises out of a circumstance before observed; that St. Luke probably had not seen the miracle done, of which the other relaters, St. Mark being here but the secretary of St. Peter, were eye-witnesses.

Since therefore it appears, that the Evangelists were left in ordinary cases to their own judgement in the choice of words, circumstances, and method: we are not authorized to resolve a concurrence in these into the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit.

4. §. Some have supposed, that detached pieces of the history of Christ, written by the Apostles or under their inspection, were extant among the faithful before any one of the Gospels was published; and that these being severally copied into them by the Evangelists occasioned the agreement which we are considering.

But before we acquiesce in this solution of the point in debate, should we not have some little evidence of the real existence of these detached pieces; and indeed some probable assurance that they were written by Apostles, if we are to allow them the dignity of directing not only St. Mark and St. Luke, but St. Matthew also?

Now though many had undertaken, as St. Luke tells us, to write of the ministry of Christ; the writings

writings on this subject were not unconnected stories, but continued narrations [διηγήσεις] [1] : nor were the authors Apostles, but subordinate members of the church, as the same Evangelist plainly intimates. As to the Apostles themselves, Eusebius informs us, "That of all the disciples of the Lord, Matthew and "John only have left us memoirs of him [2]." It is certainly remarkable, that so many of the chosen witnesses, all of whom were zealous for the glory of their Lord, whom they loved and adored, and whose word they preached throughout the world without dread of danger or remission of labour, should commit nothing to writing concerning his wonderful life and character. Yet, I conceive, a reasonable account may be given of their conduct, which appears to have been wise and provident. They saw it to be of the last importance to mankind, that what was written by them on the subject of Christ should be preserved in its original purity; and that therefore it was to be guarded with extreme care and vigilance against all dangers of corruption, till it was of sufficient strength to resist the practices of false friends or insidious foes: which strength, the being circulated and known in all parts of the church, the being read and studied and prized by the whole community, would assuredly give it; it being impossible that any change should be made unperceived in a text upon which the eyes of all were intent. But this security of the truth must diminish, if books of the same sort multiplied, and especially if they multiplied apace. The numbers of them would enlarge the frontier to be defended against forgery and fable; and, by dividing the attention of the faithful among many

[1] Luke i. 1.

[2] Ὁμῶς δ' ἐν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ μαθητῶν ὑπομνήματα Ματθαῖος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλελοίπασιν. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 24. See Lardner's Credibility, vol. viii. p. 90. Testimonies before St. John's Gospel in Mill.

objects of equal value, would weaken their regard for any in particular, and abate their watchfulness over it. It was therefore not adviseable, not to be wished by those to whom the cause of religion was dearer than the indulgence of curiosity, that Gospels should be set forth by every Apostle in any time of their ministry, and much more in the outset of it. But if for this reason the generality of them abstained from writing on the whole argument; for the same or a stronger reason they would not retail the life of Christ by writing it in small portions and separate articles, to be sorted, like the Sibyl's leaves, at the discretion of those who collected them. For by this procedure they had opened a door to the adversary, whom they were so solicitous to exclude. The example might have encouraged rash or designing men to compose false anecdotes concerning Christ, or to adulterate the true; and to disperse them in the names of the Apostles. And in a variety of small and scattered compositions, how could these have taken cognizance, or the simple and unlearned been aware, of the deceit?

However, it was expedient for many reasons that a written history of Christ should appear without much delay after his Ascension [1]. The Apostles therefore, as their great caution and reserve lead us to infer, determined, that one of their body, and for the present one only, should undertake and publish such a work; a work appealing to a multitude of living witnesses for many of its facts, and attested by the chosen witnesses in all its parts; and therefore fit to be recommended to their followers and converts as a standard of truth, by which the credibility of other relations might be examined and proved. This it was easy to preserve from interpolations or cor-

[1] See the next Section.

ruptions;

ruptions; since copies of it, taken by believers or for their use, might be verified by the original remaining with the central church in Jerusalem. And for the sake of a like advantage, I apprehend the other Gospels were afterwards published in cities of great resort, and in which Christian churches, the depositaries of the authentic manuscripts, were well established.

Now if such was the plan laid down and pursued by the Apostles, till the enlargement of the church required some little variation of measures; it is evident, St. Matthew's must have been the Gospel composed in consequence of that plan. And then he might be the first writer of all our Lord's disciples and followers. I believe him to have been so; but for the present wave the argument from the early publication of his Gospel; and returning to the inference which I esteem justly made, that these detached portions of history, if they existed before his Gospel, came not from the hands of the Apostles, I ask, Whether he could have any inducement to make use of them? A member of the apostolical college wanted no information from without on the subject of Christ's ministry: and it might weaken, but could not confirm, the authority of his book, if it appeared that he had made collections here and there, and transcribed from authors less acquainted than himself with the works and doctrine of his Lord, and less honoured with his confidence. The whole tenor of his Gospel, peculiar yet uniform in style and manner, refutes the idea of such a compilation.

The question then is reduced to St. Mark, and St. Luke. They might copy these detached pieces, though St. Matthew did not. And if they did so, it must follow, that the frequent, and in some instances remarkable, coincidence of their narrative with his was entirely

entirely casual. But this, I trust, hath been shown to be highly improbable; nor is it indeed consistent with the scheme before us, which, by proposing its reason for this coincidence, disclaims the vague notion of chance.

The agreement in question then having no other assignable cause, that I perceive, than *That the succeeding Evangelists had seen the former Gospels*, I must abide by this.

And to strengthen the conclusion to which I am led, I will subjoin a few examples of a concurrence, not in language and circumstances, but of another kind, which is sometimes found in the Gospels, and seems to lie totally beyond the reach of the just-mentioned hypothesis; and that is, a consent of two Evangelists in an order of history which is not governed by the course of the events.

The first of these examples will show, that St. Matthew and St. Mark have stopt exactly in the same place, to return to a transaction which they passed by at the time when it happened; as will appear on comparing them with St. John. The relation of St. Matthew and St. Mark is so very nearly the same, that it will be sufficient to cite St. Mark's.

5. §. Mark xiv. 1—10. See Matth. xxvi. 1—14.

After two days *was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death.*

But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar of the people.

And being in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an

an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head.

And there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said, Why was this waste of the ointment made?

For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and given to the poor. And they murmured against her.

And Jesus said, Let her alone, why trouble ye her? She hath wrought a good work on me.

For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.

She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.

Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests to betray him unto them.

John xii. 1—8.

Then Jesus, six days *before the passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.*

There they made him a supper, and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him.

Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, which should betray him,

Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?

This

This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.

Then said Jesus, Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she kept this.

For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always.

Some seeming differences between this account and the preceding have made it a question, Whether they relate to the same action? But the woman described by St. Matthew and St. Mark did more than pour the ointment on the head of Christ, as he himself testifies: *She is come aforehand* to anoint my body *to the burying.* Mary also did more than anoint and wipe the feet of Jesus with her hair, as St. John intimates where he says, *It was that* Mary *which* anointed the Lord, *and wiped his feet with her hair.* xi. 2. For this parenthesis I take to be designed as a connection of his account with that of the other Evangelists; and to mean, that Mary anointed the body as well as the feet of our Lord. The Evangelists on each side relate, that this happened in Bethany; they call the precious ointment by the name of *spikenard,* and rate the value of it at *three hundred pence:* they mention the same murmurs at the supposed waste of it, and the same reply of Christ, with regard to the poor; and the prophetical construction of the woman's action. It is not at all likely, that so many the same circumstances should concur on two different occasions; but very likely, that St. John should tell different circumstances of the same thing, (it being his common practice to supply the omissions of the other Evangelists, and repeat but so much as is necessary of their relation:) and since they had spoken only of the more usual honour of anointing the head, that he should take notice of the less customary honour of anointing the feet, which strongly marked the devout and

and humble affection of the doer; and that he should take notice of this singly; as he plainly intended his Gospel to be read in conjunction with the others [1].

Mary therefore is the woman meant by the two former Evangelists. But since the supper at which our Lord was anointed by her was six days before the passover; (for St. John seems to relate every thing in exact order of time;) whence is it, that St. Matthew brings us within two days of it, and then takes us back to this story? These reasons appear on the face of the narration: *First*, He would not interrupt the account of our Lord's progress from Jericho and entrance into Jerusalem: *Secondly*, He would give one view of the history of Judas; the several parts of which, his death excepted, are thus brought almost close together: He chiefly, perhaps he solely, had indignation at Mary's costly devotion [2]: after which, and before the Jewish passover, he made his infamous bargain with the rulers: and at this time, the incident which had exasperated him, and which helped to drive him to such an act of perfidy, is mentioned by St Matthew: *Thirdly*, and especially, he was now entering on the events, to which the anointing made by Mary, and our Lord's comment upon it, had an immediate reference.

[1] See Discourse vii. Though Commentators and Harmonists are divided on this question, they, who hold the side which is here maintained, are not few nor inconsiderable. See Lucas Brugensis in Quatuor Evangelia; Beza, Grotius, Erasmus Schmidius, on Matth. xxvi. 6. Hammond on Luke vii. 37. Toinard and Doddridge in their Harmonies.

[2] Possibly it may be thought, that St. Matthew must mean more than Judas, because he says, *When his disciples saw it they had indignation*. But he speaks in the same general way of king Herod, ii. 20. *They are dead which sought the young child's life;* of the thief on the cross who upbraided our Saviour, xxvii. 44. and on other occasions. See Joshua vii. 1. and Patrick on the place.

But

But if these reasons influenced St. Matthew, it is not easily admissible, that they had of themselves, and abstractedly considered, the very same effect on St. Mark; and led him to introduce the story at the same juncture of time, and place it among the same particulars above and below.

6. §. St. Matthew and St. Luke describe the driving of the buyers and the sellers out of the temple, as if it had been done by our Lord on the first day of his public entry into Jerusalem. Yet, according to St. Mark, it did not happen till the day after[1]. The reason why St. Matthew anticipated this event seems plainly to have been, that he might clear the way for an uninterrupted narration of our Lord's conferences and discourses on the succeeding days: for which reason he also anticipated some incidents relating to the Fig-tree that withered. Compare Matth. xxi. 18—22. with Mark xi. 12. &c.

Our Lord, on the day of his solemn procession to Jerusalem, went into the Temple, "and looked round about upon all things." It is very likely therefore that he then testified his displeasure at the profanation of it, and gave warning that he would no longer suffer it. He was at that time followed by "a very great multitude." The next day his visit to the Temple was more private; and then it was that he drove the traffickers out of it. In this he chose a time better suited to the mild dignity of his conduct, and which showed more distinctly the power of his command: for thus it became visible, that they who bought and sold submitted to it not through fear of his numerous attendants, but under influence and awe of the authority with which he appeared and spoke.

[1] Matth. xxi. 12. Luke xix. 45 Compare Mark xi. 11. 15.

On

On all accounts we must espouse the order of time observed by St. Mark in relating this miracle of cleansing the Temple. When therefore we see St. Luke, who is apt to concur with him, assigning it to the preceding day, we have reason to believe that he had his eye on St. Matthew, and was led by his example.

7. §. The restoring of the daughter of Jairus to life is disposed later in St. Mark's Gospel than in St. Matthew's[1]. Yet St. Matthew has so united the coming of Jairus to Christ with the entertainment and discourse at his own house, that they cannot be parted without doing great violence to his text, as the attempts of Toinard and Le Clerc evince. It is much more natural to suppose that *he* here followed the course of things, and that St. Mark preferred affinity of subject to order of time. It was matter of offence to the Pharisees, that Christ conversed with publicans and sinners at Matthew's house, and did not bind his disciples to the rigour of their fasts. St. Mark having mentioned their objections, and our Lord's answers to them, goes on with this subject, and subjoins other instances of a similar nature. But in pursuing this object he passed the time at which Jairus presented himself to Christ. He stays therefore till the course of events brought him back to the place where Jairus lived, before he relates the miracles wrought at his house. St. Luke[2] accords with St. Mark; and this miracle occupies precisely the same place in both their Gospels.

8. §. Need I apologize for maintaining, that the Evangelists have not adhered to the order of time

[1] Mark v. 22. Matth. ix. 18. See the Bishop of Waterford's Harmony; with respect to the cleansing of the Temple, notes on § 112. and § 113.—to the withered fig-tree, ib.—and to the raising of the daughter of Jairus, note on § 52.

[2] Luke viii. 41.

minutely

minutely and scrupulously in all things? This is no imperfection in their works. At least the great biographers of antiquity thought it sufficient to give a regular series of the principal events; and introduced others, not as annalists, but with a freer and what they deemed an apter connection.

Some of the learned have been pleased to suppose, that the facts in St. Matthew's Gospel, from Chap. iv. 22. to Chap. xiv. 13. are not now as he placed them; but have been thrown into confusion by some accident. Without taking shelter under Sir Isaac Newton's authority, who declares, that Matthew *tells all things in due order of time*[1]; I will be bold to affirm, that the present order, whether exactly chronological or not, hath an excellence which would be much injured by changing it.

But when the disposition of facts in history is not according to their real succession, but proceeds from the ideas of a more convenient or striking arrangement which the relater frames to himself; there is a strong presumption, if two authors have the very same disposition, that one of them took it from the other.

I might add other instances of consent in the Gospels; of which it is hard to assign a cause otherwise than by supposing, that the later Evangelists chose to follow the foregoing. But, as I judge the question sufficiently proved, I forbear.

9. §. Mr. Jones, who has ably shown, that St. Mark was not an epitomizer of St. Matthew[2]; in his zeal to strengthen his argument, espouses the opinion of Mr. Dodwell and Mons. Le Clerc, that neither of

[1] Observations on Daniel's Prophecies, p. 152.
[2] Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, Ch. vi—ix.

these

these Evangelists had seen the Gospel of the other [1]: in proof of which he brings ten instances of such difference between them as he thinks could not otherwise have happened [2]: One is, that St. Matthew, viii. 28. speaks of *two* demoniacs healed, where St. Mark, v. 1. mentions only *one*; the reason of which will be shown in a subsequent part of these Discourses [3]: Another, that they disagree in the name of the place where this miracle was performed; St. Matthew calling it the country of the Gergesenes, St. Mark of the Gadarenes. This is a small difficulty indeed. If Gergesa was subordinate to Gadara the metropolis of Peræa, as Cellarius and Reland judge [4], and St. Mark did not write in Judea; what wonder that he chose the more general name, which was best known in the world? But Cellarius from Eusebius takes notice, that some esteemed Gergasi (so Eusebius writes it) and Gadara two names of the same city; and this he thinks was the sentiment of the Syriac translator. To this Sir Richard Ellys most inclines in his Fortuita Sacra, p. 29.

If this is granted, it may be admitted among the evidences, that the Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel is original. If Gergesa was Gadara, he himself might like to retain an ancient name understood by his countrymen. But a translator would probably have followed St. Mark, and rendered it Gadara: as Argentina of an Italian author in a French or English version will be Strasburg.

Another of Mr. Jones's instances is, that St. Matthew relates the words of Christ to St. Peter, *Before*

[1] Ib. p. 86.
[2] Ib. p. 79.
[3] See Disc. v. Sect. iii. § 2.
[4] Cellarius Geograph. V. i. B. ii. C. xiii. p. 646. Reland Palæstin. V. ii. p. 774.

the

the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice; St. Mark, *Before the cock crow* twice, *thou shalt deny me thrice.* A learned note of Grotius on Matth. xxvi. 34. sets this matter in a clear light.

The remaining differences are not harder to solve than these; and Mr. Jones allows them to have been all happily reconciled; they cannot therefore be opposed to such clear proof as hath been produced: perhaps, if properly considered, they help to confirm it. For if two authors writing on one subject discover each a peculiarity of style and manner, and yet have whole passages in the same words; the presumption increases, that in the concurring paragraphs one of them had his eye upon the other.

10. §. A learned Father, who had carefully examined and compared the Evangelists, and wrote a treatise to show their mutual agreement; gives his judgement, that in their order they were acquainted with the former Gospels, and did not think it unbecoming them to adopt sometimes what had been written by another under the influence of that Spirit who guided them all. This was the sentiment of St. Augustin [1]; and I hope no religious person will be offended at the pains which I have taken to evince the justness of it, or think that it derogates from the credit and honour of the Evangelists; whose cause can never be injured by the truth.

[1] Quamvis singuli [Evangelistæ] suum quendam narrandi ordinem tenuisse videantur, non tamen unusquisque eorum velut alterius præcedentis ignarus voluisse scribere reperitur, vel ignorata prætermisisse, quæ scripsisse alius invenitur: sed sicut cuique inspiratum est, non superfluam co-operationem sui laboris adjunxit. Augustin. De Consensu Evangelistarum, L. i.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Principles of determining the order of the Evangelists on the ground of the preceding conclusion.

IT being then morally certain, that each foregoing Gospel was known to the following Evangelists, let us on this ground enquire, *Whether the Gospels, compared with each other, bear any relative marks of the order in which they were published?* And they appear to have many such, especially if the following positions are just:

I. The Gospel, by which the expressions of another Gospel are explained and rendered either clearer in themselves or to the converted Gentiles, was the later Gospel:

II. The Gospel, in which the doctrine taught in another is adapted to a more enlarged state of the church, was the later Gospel:

III. A Gospel published among the Gentiles was later than that which was published among the Jews.

The two first of these positions may be admitted, I think, without much difficulty: for it must be supposed, that an Evangelist, writing with another Gospel before him, and relating the same fact, would not fall short of it in clearness; but would rather explain words or things that were abstruse to a part of his readers; and when the faith had passed the limits of the Jewish church, and was spread among the Gentiles, would abstract the evangelical doctrine, where the case admitted, from its reference to one people,

and

and give it that extent and comprehension, which the divine author of it ultimately intended.

The third position is founded on the propriety and expediency, that a Gospel should be first and early published at Jerusalem.

I. It had been repeatedly promised to the house of Israel, that out of Sion should go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem [1]: which Divine Promise received a more complete accomplishment, and the house of Israel had the preeminence in every thing relating to the kingdom of God; if the law or word, written as well as preached, first went forth from Sion to all other churches, as from a mother to the daughters.

II. At the giving of the law from mount Sinai there was an oral promulgation of the commandments, and they were also written in two tables of stone [2].

III. The method of joining oral and written notifications of the same things appears to have been judged by the Apostles the surest method: for thus they acted, when they issued their decree concerning rites to be observed by the converted Gentiles [3]. It was sent to Antioch by message and in writing: and if they were so careful, that their own decree should be justly evidenced and published; we cannot suppose them less solicitous, that the life and doctrine of their blessed Lord should be proposed to believers in as ample and satisfactory a manner.

IV. Myriads of Jews who had embraced the faith were yet zealous of the law [4]. And it is well if ex-

[1] Isai. ii. 3. Micah iv. 2.
[2] Exod. xx. 1. xxxi. 18.
[3] Acts xv. 23—27.
[4] Acts xxi. 20.

pectations

pectations of a temporal kingdom, and an inveterate confidence in rites and ceremonies, did not still operate on the minds of the multitude; and require *line on line, precept on precept*, to teach them the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and that it demanded internal and universal obedience. These truths were indeed inculcated by the preaching of the Apostles; but if their followers were to read *Moses and the prophets* in their houses [1], it was fit that they should have opportunity of studying the law of *Christ* in the same manner.

V. But a great number of them could seldom hear the instructions of the Apostles; who, according to ancient and constant tradition, resided wholly in Judea for several years after the Ascension. And though the Gospel was at first preached only to the Jews, it was not limited to Judea, but spread beyond it. Many converts were made of those who came to Jerusalem only on solemn occasions, and for the rest of the year lived in other countries far distant from it. These converts must naturally desire to carry home with them a written Gospel, for their own sake, and for the promotion of the faith.

A written Gospel would enable them to know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed by the Apostles; and to comprehend the several parts of a new dispensation much better than if they trusted to memory alone. It would fortify their minds against errors and prejudices, early received by themselves, and zealously espoused by their countrymen. It would establish their faith, animate their hopes, and yield them that comfort and delight, which pious minds feel in meditating and reading the life and doctrine of Christ.

[1] Deut. vi. 6—9.

It would serve as a criterion, by which they could prove and examine what was advanced by those who appeared among them as preachers of the Gospel, whether it were according to the analogy of the faith, and the teaching of the Apostles.

It would add weight and power to their endeavours for the conversion of others in their several places of abode. For however perfectly they might be informed of facts, and instructed in doctrines; they wanted that authority to teach others, which the gift of inspiration derived on the Apostles. But this would be in great measure supplied to them by a Gospel composed and approved at Jerusalem; which in the very circumstances of its publication carried with it the testimony of the Apostles, and bore, as it were, the seal of the whole sacred college to its truth.

VI. If therefore we consider the great advantages accruing to the believers in Judea, and the still greater to those of the dispersion by a written Gospel; we cannot suppose, that the pastoral care of the Apostles permitted their flock to remain long without one.

VII. It was for the honour of the Gospel, that it should be quickly notified by every mode of publication to the Jews in general; to convince them that it did not withdraw itself from the inquiry of its contemporaries, but proposed the facts, on which it was founded, to be examined and scrutinized by those among whom they were done.

VIII. It was a great act of charity to the Jewish nation to warn them early of the peril of rejecting the Gospel: and a written account of it might gain access to many, who stopt their ears against the preaching of the Apostles.

IX. When

IX. When the great persecution of the church in Jerusalem began with the stoning of St. Stephen, all the chief members of it were dispersed, except the Apostles; who kept indeed their station, but, the popular tide turning against them, could not be heard in public so attentively as before; and then it became especially requisite to obviate the various aspersions and false reports of their adversaries, by publishing a plain memorial of what Christ had done and taught, and what the witnesses of his life and doctrine taught in his name.

X. It would also prevent some cavils of the Jews, encourage the conversion of the Gentiles, and when they were converted assure their minds and confirm their faith, if the predictions of Christ concerning their admission into the church, and his command to his Apostles *to teach and baptize all nations,* appeared on record, before the word was preached among them [1]. But to answer such ends it was necessary, that these things should be early written and divulged, that the knowledge of them might anticipate an event which was hastening forward.

It may be added as a corollary to these observations, that a Gospel designed to be of the most extensive benefit to the people of the Jews must have been written in a language which was most generally understood by them. If therefore it was published in Hebrew, as the Fathers testify of St. Matthew's, for the sake of the common people of Jerusalem and Judea; at the same time, or very soon after, it must have been published also in Greek, which was more familiar than Hebrew to a great body of the Dispersion.

[1] See Disc. iv. Sect. v. § 17.

DISCOURSE THE FOURTH.

ON ST. MATTHEW.

SECT. I.

ST. MATTHEW *wrote before* ST. MARK.

FROM these positions it will follow, that St. Matthew was the earliest writer of a Gospel. But in deducing this consequence it must be assumed just for the present, that he wrote for the Jews, and in Judea; and this being granted, whatever proves St. Mark and St. Luke to have written in other countries is a proof of his priority to them: of which sort is the first argument here alleged in comparing him with St. Mark.

1. §. Matth. iii. 6.	Mark i. 5.
And were baptized of him in Jordan.	*And were baptized of him in* the River of *Jordan.*

The addition of the word *River* in St. Mark may seem a slight circumstance on which to found an argument; and yet I think it affords a strong probability, that St. Mark wrote at a distance from Judea, and not so near it as Egypt: for I much question whether

whether this is not the only place, either in the Bible or Apocrypha, where this river is called more than simply Jordan. So famous [1] was it in Palestine, and the countries round, and among these in Egypt[2]. But at Rome it was a name little known, except among the learned, till after the wars of Titus Vespasian, and the trophies erected on the conquest of Judea. And since *to be baptized in Jordan*, like St. John's expression, *John also was baptizing in Enon*[3], does not of itself determine, whether a river or a place were intended; one would be apt to suspect, that a question of this kind had been asked, and gave occasion to the inserting of the word *river*. Else it was extremely natural for St. Mark to speak of Jordan, as all the other sacred writers have done.

2. §. Matth. ix. 14.

Then came the disciples of John saying,
Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?

Mark ii. 18.

And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast:
and they come and say unto him,
Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?

Here a little explanation is premised; but the next instance is more striking.

3. §. Matth. xv. 1, 2.

Then came to Jesus Scribes and Pharisees,
which were of Jerusalem,

Mark vii. 1—5.

Then came together unto him the Pharisees and certain of the Scribes,
which came from Jerusalem.
And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled (that is to say,

[1] Dr. Shaw, Travels, p. 373, says, "The Jordan, excepting "the Nile, is by far the most considerable river that I have seen "either in the Levant or Barbary."

[2] See Ecclus. xxiv. 26.

[3] John iii. 23.

with

Matth. xv. 1, 2.	Mark vii. 1—5.
	with unwashen) *hands, they found fault.*
	For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders.
	And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups and pots, brazen vessels, and of tables.
saying,	*Then the Pharisees and Scribes asked him,*
Why do thy disciples transgress	*Why walk not thy disciples according to*
the tradition of the elders?	*the tradition of the elders?*

St. Mark's narration goes hand in hand with St. Matthew's for a good way together, both in the preceding and subsequent parts; except that he has inserted this note for the sake of those who were strangers to Jewish customs; of which there is no such explication in all St. Matthew's Gospel, because they for whom he composed it did not want any.

We meet with another little note concerning Judea, in the eleventh chapter of St Mark, ver. 13. where giving an account of the barren fig-tree he says, *For the time of figs was not yet.* St. Matthew does not make this observation; as every one who lived in that country must know, that the full season of ripe figs was not till after the latest time on which the passover could fall. Compare Matth. xxi. 19.

4. §. Matth. xv. 22.	Mark vii. 26.
And behold, a Canaanitish *woman came out of the same coasts, and cried unto him.*	*The woman was a* Greek, *a* Syro-phœnician *by nation, and she besought him.*

Phœnicia

Phœnicia was part of ancient Canaan; but the latter name was grown into disuse. It is mentioned no where in the New Testament, except here, and in Acts vii. 11. xiii. 19. where St. Stephen and St. Paul speak of remote antiquity, and speak of it to a Jewish audience. Josephus uses it only with regard to the same higher ages. St. Mark therefore explains Canaanitish by Syro-phœnician [1], which was more generally understood. By saying that the woman was a Greek, he means that she was not of the Jewish religion.

As the term Canaanite was become obsolete, may we not conclude, that a translator of St. Matthew from the Hebrew would have rendered it either Syro-phœnician with St. Mark, or simply Phœnician, as is often done in the Septuagint [2]? This therefore is one of the presumptive proofs, that the Greek of this Gospel is from the hand of the author himself. And the preference of an antique to a modern word in this place makes the conjecture already mentioned [3] more probable, that Gergesa and Gadara were names of the same city, of which St. Matthew chose the more ancient.

5. §. Matth. xviii. 8, 9.	Mark ix. 43—48.
8. *Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee; it is*	43. *And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee*

[1] The Syro-phœnicians were so called to distinguish them from the Phœnicians of Africa, who were Liby-phœnicians. Both were of the same stock, and had borne the name of Canaanites: which was still remaining in Africa, when St Augustin lived; for he tells us, that the country people about Hippo being asked, Who they were, answered in the Punic tongue, that they were Canaanites. Lib. Expositionum Epist. ad Romanos. See Grotius on Matth. xv. 22.

[2] Grotius, ib. This excellent annotator on the Gospels begins a note on Matthew xxviii. 1. with an observation which is verified in the instance before us: Marcus ita Matthæi legit vestigia, ut sæpe ei præstet interpretis vicem.

[3] Disc. iii. Sect. v. § 9.

better

Matth. xviii. 8, 9.	Mark ix. 43—48.
better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.	*to enter into* life *maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire :*
	44. *Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*
	45. *And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off : it is better for thee to enter halt into* life, *than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the unquenchable fire :*
	46. *Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*
9. *And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee :*	47. *And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out :*
it is better for thee to enter into life, *with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell-fire.*	*it is better for thee to enter into* the kingdom of God *with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell-fire :*
	48. *Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched,*

Gehenna, the name for hell in the original of both Evangelists, was a name purely Jewish, and unknown to the Gentiles. St. Mark therefore has given the passage more at large ; the only one in which *Gehenna* occurs in his Gospel : by which means he has shown, as by a paraphrase, what ideas were annext to the word, and in what sense our Lord used it. In verse 47, he says, *It is better for thee* to enter into the Kingdom of God *with one eye*, &c. Where *Entering into the Kingdom of God* being synonymous to *Entering into Life* in the preceding verses, the spiritual acceptation of the word *Life* was explained to those who were not much accustomed to this notion of it.

6. §. Matth. xix. 1.	Mark x. 1.
When Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond *Jordan.*	*And he arose from thence, and cometh into the coasts of Judea* by the farther side of *Jordan.*

The

The meaning of both Evangelists is the same; that our Lord in travelling from Galilee to Judea passed through the country beyond Jordan[1], which was called Peræa. But St. Mark by a little addition, still less in the original, and nearer to St. Matthew's text than it appears in the version, has rendered the sense less dubious: St. Matthew says, Πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, St. Mark, Διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

With the same ease he has avoided another little ambiguity of St. Matthew; who in relating the surmise at Herod's court, that Jesus was John the Baptist revived, thus expresses it, Ch. xiv. 2. *This is John the Baptist* [ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν] *he is risen from the dead.* Our translation gives the true, and indeed obvious, sense of the words. But since they are capable of another, *He is raised up by the dead*, as if they had caused him to rise again[2]; St. Mark has changed St. Matthew's preposition for one not so liable to this misconstruction [Ἐκ νεκρῶν ἠγέρθη. vi. 14.]

I shall here mention a third emendation, no greater than these, and no less proper. St. Matthew, Ch. xxii. 30. says, *But are as the Angels of God* in heaven[3];

[1] That Πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου means, not *beside* but *beyond* Jordan, See Lightfoot on John i. 28. V. i. p. 527. Fol. The construction of the sentence is, Ἦλθε πέραν, or, διὰ τοῦ πέραν, τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Our Saviour, who had preached in the several tribes of Israel on this side Jordan, proceeded now to preach to that part of them who dwelt beyond it, before he suffered.

[2] See Wetstein on Matth. xiv. 2. whose observation this is: and compare Matth. xi. 19. Mark viii. 31.

[3] This instance shows, that Matth. i. 11. will bear the sense in which Mr. Bowyer would understand it [Conjectures, p. 3.] without any change of the text: "Josiah begat Jechoniah, and "the brethren of Jechoniah *that were at the time of the Captivity.*" To establish which sense he would read the passage thus: Καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικισίας. The article Τοὺς, which he supposes to have been lost, may have been, as οἱ in this place, originally omitted.

The Jechoniah, who is mentioned in the next verse as begetting Salathiel

where it being doubtful, whether *In heaven* is to be referred to God or the Angels, St. Mark has made it clear by saying, xii. 25. *But are as the Angels* who are in heaven.

I think we may conclude from these small improvements on the text of St. Matthew, that he had published his Gospel in Greek before St. Mark's appeared. For if we put the contrary case, we must suppose what is very improbable, that he or his translator has followed St. Mark's language in many instances, and yet deserted it in these, which are accuracies merely grammatical, and would have made no alteration of his sense.

7. §. We read in St. Matthew, that on the morning of the Resurrection an Angel first, and then Christ himself, appearing to the women who went early to visit the sepulchre, sent a message by them to the disciples, "That they should go into Galilee, and as-"semble together at a certain mountain; and that "there he would show himself to them:" the sequel of which is thus told by the same Evangelist, xxviii. 16. *Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshiped him.*

St. Mark relates the message nearly in the words of St. Matthew: *But go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him.* xvi. 7. But the success of this

Salathiel after the Captivity, was probably, as St. Jerom supposes, the son of the former, and the same as is intitled Assir, 1 Chron. iii. 17. which might be a name given him from his circumstances, as The Prisoner, or, Captive; and he might be emphatically so styled on account of his preeminence over the rest of the Captivity, and recorded by this name rather than that of Jechoniah to distinguish him from his father. And thus each series of the three has fourteen persons.

message

message he does not mention. And yet, if brevity confined an historian to relate only one of them, would he not naturally prefer the fact as more important without the promise, than the promise without the subsequent completion? To what then shall we ascribe the choice made by St. Mark?

The manifestation of Christ on the mountain of Galilee to the Apostles, and a numerous assembly of other believers [1], must have been of great fame and notoriety, not only in the church, but throughout Palestine; and had the advantage of being predicted and promised before the death of Christ, as well as after his Resurrection [2]. No wonder therefore that the first Evangelist, the Evangelist of the Jews, fixed his eye upon it; and desiring to bring the prophecy and accomplishment into one view, passed over the intermediate visits of our Lord to his Apostles, and hastened on to this.

But this rendered it proper for the next Evangelist, limited by the conciseness of his plan, to omit what was already described; and, since the performance of Christ's promise to the disciples, *that they should see him in Galilee*, would be assured by the reality of other appearances, to recite some of these, which, though less celebrated, were equally convincing. This track St. Mark has taken, as knowing that St. Matthew had gone before in another.

I need not here dwell longer on this argument; because, first, The precedence of St. Matthew to St. Mark is hardly a questionable point; and secondly, If it might still be disputed, other evidences of it will arise in the two following sections.

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 6. [2] Matth. xxvi. 32.

SECT.

SECT. II.

ST. MATTHEW *wrote before* ST. LUKE.

If we next compare St. Matthew and St. Luke, I think the following examples will evince the priority of St. Matthew.

1. §. Matth. iii. 3.	Luke iii. 4—6.
For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, *The voice of one crying in the wilderness,* *Prepare ye the way of the Lord,* *make his paths straight.*	*As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying,* *The voice of one crying in the wilderness,* *Prepare ye the way of the Lord,* *make his paths straight.* *Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth:* And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

St. Luke, who a little before had told us in the words of Simeon, that Christ is *a light to lighten the Gentiles*[1]; here gives us the same assurance on the authority of a greater prophet, that "*All flesh shall* "*see the salvation of God.*" He seems therefore to have lengthened out St. Matthew's quotation for two reasons: *first*, Because he wrote for those who were less acquainted with the prophecy[2]; and *secondly*, Because the part which he has added, contains a promise, that "The manifestation which God will make

[1] Luke ii. 32.

[2] Judæis Veteris Testamenti leges historiæ et prophetiæ, quantum ad literalem sensum, notæ erant, ita ut digito eas tantum monstrasse satis erat, sed gentibus non item. Surenhusii Καταλλαγη, p. 290.

"of

" of himself by the Gospel, will be such a blessing as " all nations will have a share in [1]."

2. §. Matth. xi. 11.	Luke vii. 28.
Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.	*Among them that are born of women, there is not a greater* prophet *than John the Baptist*

The Gentiles being little acquainted with the character and office of John, whose mission had been confined to his own country; St. Luke very usefully inserted the word *prophet*, that it might appear more evident, in what respect John was to be numbered among the greatest of those that are born of women.

It follows immediately in both Evangelists:

3. §. Matth.	Luke.
But he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven *is greater than he.*	*But he that is least in* the kingdom of God *is greater than he.*

The kingdom of Heaven and *the kingdom of God* are the same thing: for Heaven is, as it were, the palace and throne of the Divine Majesty [2], and is therefore not unfrequently put for God himself [3]. But though the terms were synonymous, there might be an expediency in using the one or the other, according to the apprehensions of the readers to whom the Evangelists addressed themselves.

The Jews expected a kingdom to be set up in the days of the Messiah, but were prepossessed with such gross conceptions of it, as might render it less proper to announce it to them under the title of *kingdom of*

[1] Lowth on Isai. xl. 5.
[2] Isai. lxvi. 1. Matth. xxiii. 22.
[3] Grotius on Matth. iii. 2. Compare Dan. iv. 26. Matth. xxi. 25. Luke xv. 21. 1 Macc. iii. 18.

God;

God; since, according to an idiom of their scriptural language, earthly things which are great and striking in their kind are said to be of God; as great mountains are *mountains of God* [1]; goodly cedars are *cedars of* God [2]; an exceeding great city is *a city of God* [3]. And thus the *kingdom of God* might convey no higher idea to their carnal minds, than that of a mighty empire; an empire to be raised indeed by the hand and providence of God, but to be founded on temporal victories, and distinguished by extent of earthly dominion and power. St. Matthew therefore generally calls it *The kingdom of Heaven*; which title referred them to a prophecy of Daniel concerning it [4], and at the same time had an aptitude to raise their thoughts from carnal to spiritual, from earthly to heavenly things; and to carry their views from the present transitory scene to future and permanent glories. He does indeed a few times speak of the *kingdom of God*; but it is in places sufficiently guarded by the context, and which clearly show the spirituality of this kingdom [5].

But St. Mark and St. Luke say constantly, *The kingdom of God*; and in no one instance call it the *kingdom of Heaven*. St. Luke declines the use of another expression frequently found in St. Matthew. Once he has *Heavenly Father* [Ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] as opposed to fathers on earth: *If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall your* Heavenly Father *give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him*? xi. 13 But we do not meet with, *Father which is in heaven* [Ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς] throughout his Gospel; not even in the Lord's prayer as it still stands in the Vulgate

[1] Psalm xxxvi. 6. [2] lxxx. 10.
[3] Jonah iii. 3. See the marginal translation in these places.
[4] Dan. ii. 44. [5] vi. 33. xii. 28. xix. 24. xxi. 31. 43.

translation,

translation, and as it was anciently read by Tertullian and Origen [1]; the latter of whom takes particular notice, that St. Luke has omitted *In heaven*, and says only, *Father*, or, *Our Father*. The words of Christ, which according to St. Matthew are, *Your* Heavenly Father *knoweth that ye have need of all these things* [2]; are in St. Luke, *Your* Father *knoweth that ye have need of these things* [3]. In other passages he substitutes the name of *God* for *Father which is in Heaven*; and with some little loss of grace and propriety in the following and perhaps another or two instances:

4. §. Matth. xii. 50.	Luke viii. 21.
For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, *the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.*	*My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of* God, *and do it.*

Now the probable reason of this variation of St. Luke from St. Matthew is, that he wrote for readers of another sort; for those who were yet unacquainted with the prophecy which foretold the *kingdom of Heaven*, and therefore would not be edified by a reference to this prophecy; and might on the other hand be less edified by hearing of the *kingdom of Heaven*, than of the *kingdom of God*. They had been bred up in the belief of a multiplicity of gods; some of whom had their residence in *heaven*, some in the ocean, and some in Hades. To such persons it was more instructive to say, *The kingdom of God*; which gave no countenance to this notion of local divinities, but rather carried with it an idea of unity and omnipresence. And, as a proof of St. Luke's care to avoid a language that might in the least favour the low conceptions they

[1] See Wetstein's Greek Testament, note on Luke xi. 2. Origen Περὶ εὐχῆς, Ed. Reading, p. 94.
[2] Matth. vi. 32.
[3] Luke xii. 30.

had

had entertained of the Deity, let me subjoin a short parallel between St. Matthew and him, where we see him, in citing the same sentence, omit the part that seems to ascribe a human form to the Almighty.

Matth. iv. 4.	Luke iv. 4.
It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth *of God.*	*It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.*

We readily admit, that such circumspection was not necessary with regard to all the Gentile converts: but if some were slow to part with ancient error, and in danger of mixing it with the truth, it was the spirit of the Gospel to attend to their weakness.

5. §. Matth. xxii. 23—32.	Luke xx. 27—38.
23. *The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him,*	27. *Then came to him certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resurrection; and they asked him,*
24. *Saying, Master, Moses* said, *If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed to his brother.*	28. *Saying, Master, Moses* wrote unto us, *If any man's brother die having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed to his brother.*
25. *Now there were* with us *seven brethren: and the first when he had married a wife, deceased; and having no issue, left his wife unto his brother.*	29. *There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children.*
26. *Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seven.*	30. *And the second took her to wife, and he died childless.* 31. *And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also: and they left no children, and died.*
27. *And last of all the woman died also.*	32. *Last of all the woman died also.*

Matth. xxii. 23—32.	Luke xx. 27—38.
28. *Therefore in the resurrection, whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.*	33. *Therefore in the resurrection, whose wife of them is she? for the seven had her to wife.*
29. *Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.*	34. *And Jesus answering said unto them,*
	The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage:
	35. *But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage.*
30. *For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage;*	36. Neither can they die any more:
but are as the angels of God in heaven.	*for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.*
31. *But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was* spoken *unto you by God, saying,*	37. *Now that the dead are raised,* even Moses showed at the bush,
32. *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.*	*when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.*
	38. *For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living:* for all live unto him.

This conference of Christ with the Sadducees being related by the three Evangelists, the variations of St. Mark and St. Luke from St. Matthew offer some observations to the present purpose.

1. They are careful to state the question of the Sadducees in such a manner, that the law on which it was grounded, and which St. Matthew mentions in general terms, should be seen to be a national law peculiar to the Jews: Moses wrote *unto us.*

2. They are as careful not to restrain the resurrection to this people, omitting one particular which the Jews themselves would think requisite to form the

the case. Seven brethren who were Gentiles might all marry the same woman without danger of a litigation in the future age, as they would never rise again to dispute about her, according to the general sentiments of the Jews who held a resurrection; for they confined it to the circumcision [1]. The Sadducees therefore, that their question might be circumstanced as the Jews required it to be, said, There were seven brethren *with us*, that is, of our nation. So their words stand in St. Matthew. But St Mark and St. Luke leave out this restriction, *with us*; that, the question being general, Gentiles as well as Jews might see, that they were interested in the decision of it.

3. St. Matthew leaving the immortality of the just to be inferred from their future equality with angels, and this inference not being so clear to the Gentiles, to whom the doctrine of angels was new, St. Luke explicitly declares, that *they cannot die any more*.

4. He adds another short sentence of our Lord's argument, *For all live unto him*: which not only opposed the error of the Sadducees concerning the soul, but at the same time obviated a popular notion of the pagans, that death dissolved men's relation to heaven [2], and that after it they existed wholly under a distinct dominion of other powers.

5. The manner in which he and St. Mark quote the Old Testament or refer to it, is different from St. Matthew's: who, writing to a people well versed in it, introduces the words of it as *spoken*, often when Christ alleges it, but always when he does it himself. Of which there are a dozen instances [3].

[1] Pococke, Not. Miscell. C. vi. V. 1. p. 194. Fol. Grot. in Matth. x. 28. col. 2. Rabbi Bechai—resurrectionem propriam vult esse Israelitarum.

[2] Nos juvenem exanimum *et nil jam Cœlestibus ullis*
Debentem vano mœsti comitamur honore. Æneid, xi. 51.

[3] Matth. i. 22. ii. 15. 17. 23. iii. 3. iv. 14. viii. 17. xii. 17. xiii. 35. xxi. 4. xxvii. 9. 35.

St. Mark himself cites it but twice. i. 2. *As it is* written *in the prophets*: and xv. 28. *And the* Scripture *was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors.* St. Luke's citations are more numerous; and a few examples will show how they are made. The first time he mentions the law of Moses, it is thus: ii. 22, 23. *According to the law of Moses—As it is* written *in the law of the Lord.* When he first speaks of the prophets, he says, iii. 4. *As it is* written *in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet.* He does not himself bring any thing from the Psalms; but he thus expresses our Lord's reference to them: xx. 42. *And David himself saith in the* Book *of Psalms.* The last time he introduces the mention of Scripture, it is as follows:

xxiv. 44, 45. *And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were* written *in the* Law of Moses, *and in the* Prophets, *and in the* Psalms, *concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the* Scriptures.

Thus St. Luke signifies to the unlearned Gentile, that the law of Moses is the written Law of God; that the words of the Prophets, and Psalms of David, are also written; and that the three titles of *The Law, the Prophets*, and *the Psalms*, comprehend the Scriptures of the Old Testament[1].

An author of note observes, that St. Luke does not quote Scripture according to the forms of doing it which were used by the Rabbis and learned Jews; and from hence infers, that he was not conversant in their books[2]. This may have been the case of St. Luke; but I conceive the argument, by which he

[1] Whitby on Luke xxiv. 44.

[2] Surenhusius, Καταλλαγη. p. 315.

would

would prove it, not to be well founded: for we hardly meet with a form of citing Scripture in any other book of the New Testament, which is not found in the speeches of St. Peter, St. Stephen, or St. Paul, to the Jews, in the Acts of the Apostles. And the mode of citation, to which St. Luke adheres in his Gospel, is retained by others, who certainly were well read in Hebrew literature; as by St. Mark, and, on all proper occasions, by St. Paul. For St. Paul does not mention or allege the Law and Prophets in one and the same manner to Jews and Gentiles. To Felix the Roman governor he says of himself, Acts xxiv. 14. *Believing all things which are* written *in the Law and the Prophets.* But to king Agrippa, ib. xxvi. 22. *Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses* did say *should come.* And thus he distinguishes in his Epistles. In that to the Hebrews are many passages from the Old Testament, but not a single instance in which it is quoted as *written.* But in his other Epistles he rarely uses any other form than, *It is written*, or, *The Scripture saith.* Thus he cites it to the Romans; the chief variations from which mode to that of *He saith* are in the three chapters, ix, x, xi. which principally relate to the Jews: and even there he seldom fails to name the prophet whose words are adduced. To the Galatians, and in both Epistles to the Corinthians, with one or two exceptions, he urges the words of the Old Testament as *written.* To the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, if I mistake not, he makes no direct quotation from it. In the Epistle to the Ephesians he refers to it twice, and there indeed in both places under the form of *He saith.* But he himself had spent above two years in teaching them with the utmost diligence and attention[1]; and wrote his Epistle to them some years after; when he might have full assurance that he spoke to those *who knew the Law.* A passage in

[1] Acts xix. 8. and 10.

this

this Epistle, compared with one similar in that to the Colossians, seems to prove, that he made a difference between them, and judged the Ephesians to be better versed in the sacred books. To these he proposes the precept of obedience to parents with a view to the Mosaic promise: Eph. vi. 1—3. *Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right.* HONOUR THY FATHER AND MOTHER; WHICH IS THE FIRST COMMANDMENT WITH PROMISE. But he omits this reference to the words of the Decalogue, in giving the same precept to the Colossians; with whose proficiency in the Scriptures he was less acquainted, as having never been among them. He says only, Col. iii. 20. *Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.*

Thus we see that St. Paul has one mode of citing the Old Testament to the Hebrews, and another to the churches of which the Gentiles were members; that in the former case he agrees with St. Matthew, in the latter with St Mark and St. Luke. And in this respect there is so much uniformity of the Apostle and two Evangelists, that we may justly conclude, it was not accidental, but designed by him and them, for the same purpose of suiting their style to the small measure of scriptural knowledge which they might well suppose many of their readers to possess. By which means the unlearned or new-converted Gentiles were instructed, that what was offered to them as the word of God *which came in old time*, was to be found in the books of Scripture; and, if Judaizers crept in and perplexed them with doctrines of an oral or traditionary law, were furnished with this reply to such teachers: "When the Apostles and Evangelists, "who have been our more immediate guides, pro-"pose to us any part of the Mosaic economy, they "allege only what is *written*, and what they care-"fully inform us to be so."

I have

I have dwelt so long on this subject, not only as it is of weight in the present inquiry, but as it yields us one of those simple notes of authenticity with which the Gospels abound, and which the genius of forgery could never have devised.

6. §. Matth. xxiii. 27.	Luke xi. 44.
Ye are like unto whited graves, *which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones, and all* uncleanness.	*Ye are as* sepulchres which appear not, *and the men that walk over them are not aware of them.*

Grotius conceived these similitudes to be different[1], in which opinion he was not singular, and that, our Lord having used both, St. Matthew took one, and St Luke the other. But Dr. Pococke, to whom Hammond refers us, hath, I think, by his great skill in Rabbinical learning, cleared up the passage in St. Matthew; and showed, that his *whited graves* are the same things with St. Luke's *which appear not*[2].

The Jews esteemed, that a man contracted a legal pollution by touching even the outside of a sepulchre or grave: to guard against which inconvenience, the Sanhedrim at stated times sent out persons to examine the graves that were gone to ruin, and by time or accident become scarce distinguishable, and to mark them with lime tempered with water. They did not mark those that were manifest, says Maimonides, but those that were doubtful or concealed. These marks were renewed from time to time; for the weather, and growth of grass and herbs, would soon efface them.

[1] Grot. in Luke xi. 44.

[2] Pocock. Notæ Miscell. C. v. p. 154. Hammond on Matth. xxiii. 27.

Whited

Whited graves in St. Matthew therefore means *graves which have been whited*, κεκονιαμένοι, that is, graves which have had these cautionary marks, and have lost them again. For when our Lord says, *They appear beautiful outward*, he means not by the hand of art, but of nature, which had again covered the ground with verdure; for this is the beauty to which he has regard [1]. St. Luke therefore calls them Ἄδηλα, *which appear not*. And this is certainly a plainer language to readers in general; otherwise so many could not have mistaken St. Matthew's meaning, and substituting a quite different idea for it.

A story related in the Recognitions seems to allude to this custom. St. Peter is introduced as speaking of the sepulchres of two of the brethren. "*Which* "were every year whited of their own accord: *by* "*which miracle the fury of many against us was* "*repressed, when they thereby perceived, that our* "*brethren were had in remembrance with God* [2]." This agrees with the account of Maimonides, and shows, that the whiting of the sepulchres was of no long duration.

The notion of uncleanness annexed to dead bodies adds force and spirit to the similitude, as it stands in St. Matthew; yet St. Luke thought fit to drop it, lest the Gentiles should think themselves concerned in it, and like the Jews, whom many of them were too fond of following, should grow more afraid of legal than moral defilement.

7. §. Matth. xxiv. 15, 16.	Luke xxi. 20, 21.
When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, *spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in* the holy place, *(whoso readeth let him understand)*	*When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.*

[1] See Matth. vi. 29.

[2] Recognitions, B. i. §. 71. in Lardner, V. ii. p. 794.

Then

Matth. xxiv. 15, 16.	Luke xxi. 20, 21.
Then let them which are in Judea flee into the mountains.	*Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains.*

What St. Matthew had delivered in the figurative style of the prophet Daniel, St. Luke, passing over the reference to this prophecy, more openly declares: *The holy place* is Jerusalem, and *the abomination of desolation* are the armies encompassing it, and encamping on this *Holy ground* with ensigns of idolatrous worship [1]. When this happened, its desolation was soon to be expected.

8. §. St. Matthew says in the same chapter, ver. 29.

Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.

This is the symbolical language of prophecy, to signify the ruin of great personages and kingdoms [2]; and denotes the same events, which are thus predicted in St. Luke:

xxi. 23, 24. *There shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*

It is probable that our Lord, as was sometimes done by the prophets [3], having first delivered these

[1] Grot. on Matth. xxiv. 15. Alex. Morus on ver. 28. Hæc illa abominatio desolationis est, quam Στρατόπεδον Lucas interpretatur, plane dicere solitus quæ Matthæus ἐσχηματισμένως. See Mede's Works, p. 753.

[2] See Bishop Newton's Dissertations on Prophecy. Rev. vi. 12—17. V. iii. p. 69.

[3] See Isai. v. 7. Ezek. xvii. 12. xx. 45—49. compared with xxi. 1—7. See Lowth's Comment.

things

things in figurative diction, did then open the meaning of the prophecy to the four Apostles with whom he was in private [1]. St. Luke hath recorded the explanatory part, St. Matthew only the figurative. And if we enquire why he chose it in preference to the other, it seems evidently to have been, because he wrote in Judea, while there were reasons of prudence, respecting not only the Jews the subject of the prophecy, but the safety [2] and even the prejudices [3] of the first believers, not to speak more openly of such a total and long subversion of the Jewish state. But then it is as evident, that St. Luke had not written in Judea before him. For had this been the case, what should induce St. Matthew to couch the prophecy under allegory and symbols, when the literal sense had been already opened, and might be read by every one in the clearest terms? There cannot be a plainer sign, I think, of the precedence of St. Matthew.

9. §. Matth. xxvi. 64. Mark xiv. 62.

Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Power.

Luke xxii. 69.

Hereafter shall the son of man sit on the right hand of the Power of God.

Power among the Jews was one of the names of God himself [4]: in which sense it was here used by Christ, and taken by the council. St. Luke gives a sort of paraphrase of it, that the high import of the word might readily be conceived by strangers to the Jewish idiom.

[1] See Mark xiii. 3.
[2] Acts vi. 14.
[3] Ib. i. 6. xxi. 20. &c.
[4] See Wolfius on the place in St. Matthew; and Selden, to whom he refers, De jure Nat. et Gentium, p. 264. who says, Sexcenties apud magistros inter Dei cognomina usurpatur.

10. §. The

10. §. The tenth chapter of St. Luke appears to have been written with reference to the tenth of St. Matthew. For Christ in the course of his ministry having appointed two missions of his disciples, and having each time given them a charge at sending them forth; the first, which was to the twelve Apostles, is recorded by St. Matthew, without notice taken of the latter: but St. Luke, touching lightly on that to the Twelve, dwells on the second to the Seventy Disciples. The instructions being similar in both, he might very properly do this, if he wrote after St. Matthew; but if he had preceded him, or not seen his Gospel, it is natural to believe, that he would have been fullest on the charge which was first given, and to the prime disciples.

SECT. III.

St. Matthew *wrote very early.*

If we attend a little further to the diction and some other circumstances of St. Matthew's Gospel, we may see reason to conclude, that he was not only anterior to St. Mark and St. Luke, but wrote several years before either of them. And these things will merit our attention the more, if the notes of an early publication are at the same time notes of the authenticity of his Gospel.

1. §. He alone ascribes those titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets and sacred historians [1], and was known among the neighbouring nations [2]. In the history of the Temptation St. Luke says, *And he brought him*

[1] Nehem. xi. 1. 18. Isai. xlviii. 2. lii. 1. Dan. ix. 24.

[2] See in Prideaux's Connect. Part i. under the year A.C. 610. an account of the great city Cadytis, mentioned by Herodotus, B. ii. Chap. 159. iii. 5.

to

to Jerusalem, *and set him on a pinnacle of the temple :* but St. Matthew, *Then the devil taketh him up into* the Holy City, *and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple* [1]. He relates in another place, that *many bodies of saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into* the Holy City, *and appeared unto many* [2]. Jerusalem is called in his Gospel, as in the Psalms, *The City of the great King* [3] ; and, as we have before observed, *The Holy Place.* St. Mark, who had the same occasion to speak of this *holy ground,* uses another expression :

Matth. xxiv. 15, 16.	Mark xiii. 14.
When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, *(whoso readeth let him understand)*	*But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing* where it ought not, *(whoso readeth let him understand)*
Then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains.	*then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains.*

An exact agreement of the two passages in other respects makes it look as if the alteration was made on purpose to avoid the title of *Holy Place.* For which and the like differences between St. Matthew and the other Evangelists, may we not account in this manner ? After some years the word of God, being received by multitudes in various parts of the world, did, as it were, sanctify other cities ; while Jerusalem, by rancorous opposition to the truth and sanguinary persecutions of it, more and more declined in the esteem of the believers. They acknowledged the title and character, which she claimed by antient prescription, when St. Matthew wrote ; but between the publication of his Gospel and the next, were taught

[1] Luke iv. 9. Matth. iv. 5.
[2] Matth. xxvii. 52, 53.
[3] Matth. v. 35. Psalm xlviii. 2.

to

to transfer the idea of the Holy City, the mother of the true Israel, to a worthier object [1].

2. §. He testifies also a higher veneration than they for the *Temple*. In describing our Lord's public entry into Jerusalem, they say, "*He went into the Temple*;" St. Matthew, "*He went into* the Temple of God [2]." In relating the evidence of the false witnesses at the Trial, St. Mark chooses one deposition: "*We heard him say I will destroy this Temple that is made with hands*;" St. Matthew another: "*I am able to destroy* the Temple of God [3]." He mentions a discourse of Christ in which the false glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees are refuted by arguments drawn from the holiness of the Altar, and of the Temple, and from the residence of the Divine Majesty in it [4]. The Temple had a peculiar sacredness, till the Son of God came to *tabernacle* [5] among men, and even till He our passover was sacrificed for us. Yet only St. Matthew continues on the notion of this sacredness to the death of Christ. No other writer of the New Testament calls it *the Temple of God* in treating of a time after the birth of our Lord. St. Luke speaks of an action done before it, when he says, that *Zacharias went into* the Temple [or sanctuary] of the Lord, *to burn incense*. And it is without success, that some learned men have attempted to prove, that *the Temple of God* in 2 Thess. ii. 4. means the Temple at Jerusalem [6].

[1] See Gal. iv. 25, 26. See also Heb. xii. 22.

[2] Mark xi. 15. Luke xix. 45. Matth. xxi. 12.

[3] Mark xiv. 58. Matth. xxvi. 61.

[4] Matth. xxiii. 16—21.

[5] John i. 14. Ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. Sanctuarium sanctuariorum est ipse Messias, sanctificatus de filiis David. Rabbi Moses Gerundensis ap. Grot. in Joan. ii. 19.

[6] See Bp. Newton on Prophecy, Dissert. xxiii. V. ii. p. 369.

3. §. St.

3. §. St. Matthew uses the word *Gospel* four times: iv. 23. ix. 35. xxiv. 14. xxvi. 13. In the three former he calls it *the Gospel of the Kingdom*. In the fourth he says, *Wheresoever this Gospel* [τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο] *shall be preached*. From hence one would judge, that it was then considered as a word of general meaning that signified any *good tidings*, and was not yet become an appropriate term of the church for the good tidings declared by Christ and his Apostles. When St. Mark wrote, this was grown to be the settled and familiar sense of it: for he says simply *the Gospel* in several places.

4. §. The language of an early writer appears again in St. Matthew, when he speaks of the Apostles. At the first enumeration of them he calls them *the twelve Apostles*[1], and after that constantly *the twelve Disciples*; till in the twenty-sixth chapter, ver. 14. and 47. where the perfidy of Judas is the subject, he styles him *One of the Twelve*, perhaps with a certain lenity of expression, that he might not seem to aggravate the guilt of Judas by reminding the reader, that he was not only a constant attendant, but a chosen disciple. Whatever the reason was, these two are the only instances of saying simply *the Twelve* throughout his Gospel, according to the Vulgate, and the more approved copies of the Greek[2]. But if the reading of our Translators in ver. 20. of this chapter, *He sat down with the Twelve*, is to be received; still it is certain, that St. Matthew had well prepared us, before he supposed us to understand, who *the Twelve* were. Whereas the other Evangelists begins early with this appellation, and scarce use any other. Because by the time when they wrote, *the Twelve* was become

[1] Matth. x. 2.

[2] Among others the Alexandrian MS. See Mill on Matth. xxvi. 20.

the

the common designation of the twelve Apostles, and the established language of the church [1].

5. §. There is a like difference between St. Matthew and the two other Evangelists in speaking of St. John. St. Mark at first calls him *the brother of James;* but as soon as he has related the death of the Baptist, changes his style, and calls him only John [2]. When St. Luke first mentions him, he intitles him *the son of Zebedee* [3], but never afterwards. St. Matthew, who often says singly Peter, has not named St. John without adding, that he was *the son of Zebedee*, or, *the brother of James*. The reason seems to be, that in a course of years this Apostle was so eminent in the church, that John, without epithet or distinction, was understood to be John the Apostle; but when St. Matthew wrote, to be rather John the Baptist.

6. §. Another circumstance concerning St. John, which we find in St. Luke, favours the early date of St. Matthew's Gospel, if we may argue from what he has omitted. The first step towards the enlargement of the church beyond the people of the Jews, was the conversion of the Samaritans by Philip the deacon; for whose confirmation in the faith the college of Apostles sent to them Peter and John [4]. The latter had not long before expressed a strong enmity to their nation, by wishing to command fire from heaven to consume one of their villages [5]. The knowledge of which fact, while their faith was in an infant and feeble state, might have alienated their minds from Him who was now their spiritual father, and given

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 5. And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the *Twelve*.

[2] Compare Mark i. 19. iii 17 v. 37 with ix. 2.

[3] Luke v. 10.

[4] Acts viii. 5—14.

[5] Luke ix. 54.

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an opportunity of sowing dissensions and raising disturbances among them, which the open enemies, or false friends, of the Gospel, such as Simon Magus, would gladly seize. Here then St. Matthew acted as prudence required of one who wrote near the time of their conversion: he left the offence of St. John, and the heavenly rebuke which it received, to be recorded by a future Evangelist. The silence of St. Matthew, and the narrative of St. Luke, are the more remarkable in this case, as departures from the rule to which they severally adhere, St. Matthew of divulging the failings of the Apostles, and St. Luke of concealing them [1].

7. §. Though St. Matthew has been careful to do all justice to the zeal and fortitude shown by John the Baptist in reproving the vices of Herod the tetrarch; he is less severe than St. Mark [2] or St. Luke [3] in speaking of this prince; and in particular, he takes no notice of the insults offered by him to our Lord on the morning of the crucifixion: which were more likely to make an impression on the minds of the Galilean believers, than the beheading of the Baptist. The most obvious account of this conduct in St. Matthew is, that Herod was still reigning in Galilee; and he was unwilling to display more than was absolutely necessary of the bad part of his character, that he might excite neither jealousy in Herod of his believing subjects, nor disaffection in them to their sovereign. But if he was influenced by these motives, he must have written before the year of our Lord XXXIX; for in that year Herod was deposed, and banished to Lyons by Caligula.

[1] See Disc. v. Sect. ii. §. 4.

[2] Compare Mark viii. 15. and Matth. xvi. 6.

Mark viii. 15.	Matth. xvi. 6.
Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of *Herod*.	Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the *Sadducees*.

[3] See Luke iii. 19. xiii. 31, 32. xxiii. 11.

8. §. The

8. §. The Herodian family may help to carry the date a little higher. Herod Antipas, who beheaded John the Baptist, was son of Herod the Great. Herod Agrippa, who beheaded St. James, was son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great. St. Luke calls the grandfather Herod King of Judea[1], and the grandson Herod The King[2]. The latter was advanced to royalty, as king of Philip's tetrarchy, by Caligula. Claudius invested him afterwards with regal power over Judea. Yet it may be questioned, whether he ever bore his grandfather's title of king of Judea. St. Luke seems to express himself, as usually, with accuracy in styling him only Herod The King[3]. St. Matthew intitles Herod the Great simply Herod The King[4]. It may therefore well be supposed, that he wrote before he knew that there was another Herod The King, whose territory was Jewish. But Herod Agrippa was thus dignified in the year of our Lord XXXVII. After which St. Matthew would probably have added a mark of distinction to the grandfather's name, as St. Luke has done; and as he himself distinguishes between Herod the King, and Herod the Tetrarch.

9. §. But a circumstance in his Gospel respecting Pilate may dispose us to fix the date of it still a little nearer to the Ascension. As soon as he begins to relate, chap. xxvii. that our Lord was led prisoner from the Jewish council to the *prætorium*, he begins to speak of Pilate as *Governor*. The *Governor* asked, the *Governor* answered; and so on. Why this fre-

[1] Ch. i. ver. 5.

[2] Acts xii. 1.

[3] Archelao Viennam relegato Judæa in formulam provinciæ est redacta; quod quam vim habeat peritis rerum Romanarum satis est compertum. Ab eo tempore nullus unquam postea Judææ neque Rex fuit neque Ethnarca. Isaac. Casaubon. Exercitat. i. n. 2. p. 22. Fol.

[4] Ch. ii. ver. 1.

quent mention of *Governor*, for it occurs nine times, but because it belonged to Pilate as still *Governor* of Judea, while St. Matthew was writing: St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, say only *Pilate* on the same occasion, and never once call him *Governor*.

Upon a complaint of the Samaritans, Vitellius president of Syria ordered Pilate to Rome, to answer to it before the Emperor. Josephus says, that in obedience to this order *he made haste to Rome*, but before he got thither the Emperor was dead [1]. The death of Tiberius was in the spring, A. D. XXXVII. By which time probably St. Matthew's Gospel was written.

10. §. St. Matthew in a certain masterly way gives the essential circumstances of our Lord's miracles; but he is the least distinct and particular in reciting them. He was in haste, as was before observed, to introduce Christ speaking, and judged perhaps, that the notoriety of these recent miracles did not then require a minuter description. As the Evangelists receded from the time and place in which the works were done, they became more explicit in their narrations; to satisfy the pious inquiries of the faithful, and to guard them against falsity by an exacter detail of facts. This is very visible in whatever St. John undertook to relate. And it may be observed in several instances of St. Luke. He mentions the appearances of Christ to the disciples after his resurrection, and his conferences with them, more at large than the preceding Evangelists. And though he reserved the circumstances of the Ascension for the Acts of the Apostles, yet we find a fuller account of it in his Gospel than in St. Mark's. St. Matthew makes no direct mention of it. He had deduced his history to the time, when Christ, who died for our sins, was risen again for our

[1] Josephus, Antiq. B. xviii. C. iv. § 2.

justi-

justification, and, being invested with all power in heaven and in earth, commanded his disciples to teach all nations, and assured them of his presence with them to the end of the world. Here he thought proper to close his Gospel. But if he had not written while the *Ascension* was fresh in memory, and the spectators of it continued together at Jerusalem, he could scarce have failed to take notice of it.

SECT. IV.

Some objections considered and answered.

1. §. Yet learned men think they discover marks of a lower date in St. Matthew's writings [1]. They argue from the knowledge which he shows of the spirituality of the Gospel, and of the excellence of the moral above the ceremonial law, of the extent of Christ's kingdom on earth, of the calling of the Gentiles and rejection of the Jews. Of which things they suppose him not to have treated, till a course of years had unfolded their meaning, and given him a clearer discernment of their nature.

2. §. But it may be answered, first with regard to the doctrinal part of his Gospel, that if he exhibits a noble idea of pure religion and morality, he teaches no more than he had heard often taught, often opposed to the maxims of the Jews, by his Divine Instructor. And when the Holy Spirit, the guide to all the truth, had descended upon him, it seems strange to imagine, that he still wanted twenty or thirty years to enlighten his mind. If he was not then furnished with knowledge to relate these doctrines as an Evangelist, how was he qualified to preach them to the Jews as an Apostle?

[1] See Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 110—116.

3. §. In the next place, it is true that the prophetic parts of his Gospel declare the extent of Christ's kingdom, and the calling and acceptance of the Gentiles. But these events had been plainly foretold by the ancient prophets, and were expected by devout Israelites to happen in the days of the Messiah. Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, speaks of Christ as coming *to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death*; which description denotes or includes the Gentiles: and Simeon calls him in direct terms, *A light to lighten the Gentiles* [1]. And what more does St. Matthew say, than that the Gospel would be successfully preached among the Gentiles in all parts of the earth? He no where teaches, that they should be received into the church without circumcision and submission to the Levitical law. Freedom from this yoke was rather intimated than proclaimed by our blessed Lord, perhaps as one of those things which then the Apostles could not bear [2]; and it remained a mystery to them, till it was signified to St. Peter by vision, and explained by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Cornelius and his friends [3]. It will be shown elsewhere, that the proper inference from these parts of St. Matthew's Gospel is of another kind [4].

4. §. But, it is added, he mentions prophecies and prophetic parables, which speak of the rejection and overthrow of the Jews. If this argument means, that, being at first prejudiced in favour of a kingdom to be restored to Israel, he could not understand these prophecies, and therefore would not think of relating them if he wrote early; though we should admit the premises, we may justly deny the conclusion. He might not clearly discern in what manner the pre-

[1] Luke i. 79. and ii. 32. [2] John xvi. 12.
[3] See Acts x. [4] See Sect. v. § 17. of this Discourse

dictions

dictions were to be accomplished, yet he must see, what they all denounced, that those who rejected the Gospel God would reject; and hence he had always an inducement to notify them to his countrymen; and the sooner he apprized them of their danger, the greater charity he showed them.

5. §. An objection drawn from his Gospel is still behind. He says of the Potter's field purchased with the price of Judas's perfidy, as Dr. Scott translates the words,

Ch. xxvii. 8. *Wherefore that field hath been called, The field of blood until this day* [1].

He says again of the report, which the soldiers who guarded the sepulchre spread at the instigation of the Jewish rulers, That the disciples came by night, and stole away the body of Christ while they slept:

xxviii. 15. *And this report has been spread among the Jews until this day.*

It is urged, they must have been events of a considerable standing, of which he could speak in this manner.

St. Matthew shows plainly, that he speaks of two things which were still subsisting when he wrote; but I see not, that his expression, especially if we consider the subject to which he applies it, requires us to suppose that they had subsisted a long while: for what things is he speaking of? *Palpable lies*, and *new names* of places, which have had others from

[1] Scott's New Version of St. Matthew's Gospel.

ancient

ancient usage and apparent reason, are beings of such a perishable nature and casual existence, that a single year was sufficient to give propriety to the observation, that they then continued. It was memorable that the *name* had fastened on the field, and strange that the *lie* had lasted so long.

6. §. Historic evidence is brought in aid of these arguments: and to the testimonies produced in the second of these Discourses, the higher authority of Irenæus is opposed, in a passage of which I will give a literal version [1]:

"Now Matthew among the Hebrews published "also a written Gospel; Peter and Paul evangeliz- "ing at Rome, and founding the church there; but "after their departure, Mark the disciple and inter- "preter of Peter, he also delivered to us in writing "what was preached by Peter; and Luke the fol- "lower of Paul recorded in a book the Gospel "preached by him. Afterwards John the disciple of "the Lord, the same who leaned on his breast, he "also set forth a Gospel, residing at Ephesus in "Asia."

It is taken for granted, that *Peter and Paul evangelizing at Rome* must mean, *While Peter and Paul were evangelizing at Rome.* But what becomes of the argument, if *evangelizing* has here the nature of a substantive (for which such participles are used in Greek [2]), and the words are to be thus understood,

[1] Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 102. Irenæus, B. iii. C. i.

[2] Thus Luke ii. 2. Ἡγεμονεύοντος is the same thing as if St. Luke had said Ἡγεμόνος, according to Dr. Lardner, who renders the passage, *This was the first assessment of Cyrenius governor of Syria.* Credib. V. i. p. 420. Where see more instances of a similar kind. In the words of Irenæus, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων, καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, it hath been doubted, whether εὐαγγελιζομένων may be considered as a noun, while

Peter and Paul being the evangelizers, *or preachers, at Rome?* Which I apprehend may be done without any violence to the language or design of Irenæus.

It is evident, that his main design was to declare, *From whom and how the churches had received the doctrine which they held.* And therefore after a general account of the qualifications of the Apostles by the power of the Holy Spirit, and that they went forth, and evangelized the nations; he descends to particulars, and says, *Matthew published also a written Gospel;* that is, he was both a preacher and writer of the word. He then informs us, that *Peter and Paul were the preachers of it at Rome,* but that what they preached was written by Mark and Luke. So that the sentence concerning Peter and Paul relates to what follows it, and was designed to show, not that Matthew was writing among the Hebrews and they preaching to the Romans *at the same time,* but that the doctrine was *the same,* which was preached by Peter and Paul, and written by Mark and Luke: for this is the point on which he is intent. And this, which I believe to be the true construction of

while θεμελιούντων in the same sentence remains a participle. Perhaps it might be sufficient to answer, that Irenæus professes himself no studier of elegance of language, and seems conscious that he did not write the more accurate Greek from the necessity he was under of conversing chiefly in Celtic. [See Introduct. to B. i.] But is not the following sentence of Xenophon an instance, that of two participles one may become a sort of noun, the other not? Καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσαις ἐπαινεῖν τέ σε πολλοὺς, ὅπως δόξαν λάβῃς, καὶ κατασκευὰς καλὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν κτήσαιο, ἄρτι τε ἐξηπατηκὼς εἴης ἄν, καὶ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὅπου ἂν πεῖραν δοίης, ἐξεληλεγμένος τ' ἂν εἴης, καὶ προσέτι ἀλαζὼν φαίνοιο. It is so according to his learned Annotator, who thus translates it: Et si quidem tum multis te ut laudent persuaseris, quo hanc de te opinionem excites, tum præclaros ad horum quælibet apparatus acquisiveris, jam sic demum eris *deceptor,* et paulo post, ubi periculum tui feceris, in fraude *deprehensus* etiam eris, et præterea vanus videberis. Cyropæd. L. i. P. 84. Ed. Hutchinson. 4to.

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the passage, has appeared so to others. Dr. Wall says, "Irenæus is there speaking in a general way, "not minding at that place any chronological mat-"ter or synchronism[1]." And on this side of the question the passage is explained by Dr. Wells[2]. But if our opponents insist on the common interpretation as just, we may in this instance as lawfully refuse the authority of Irenæus though very respectable, as they, who will have it to be decisive in one part of this passage, may disregard it in another. Irenæus says, that *Matthew published a written Gospel among the Hebrews*, or *in Judea*. But in this point no attention is paid to his testimony[3]. And yet if there was any mistake in the history which he had received of this Gospel, it was more likely to be a mistake of the *precise time* than of the *country* in which it came forth.

7. §. As the objections then by no means balance the weight of evidence in the other scale, we may still rest secure, that St. Matthew's Gospel was published, when the situation of the church, with respect to its own members and the Jews without, seems to have required one; by the beginning of the year XXXVII.

And thus we have a proof independent of the preceding comparisons, that St. Mark and St. Luke, who probably came often to Jerusalem and conversed familiarly with the Apostles, must have seen St. Matthew's Gospel before they composed their own. St. Mark, who I conceive will appear to be the first writer of the two, concludes with an intimation, that he did not write, till after the Apostles had

[1] Critical Notes on the New Testament, p. 1, 2.
[2] Paraphrase on the New Testament, Preface to St. Matthew.
[3] Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 125, 126.

quitted

quitted their residence in Judea, and had preached the faith with success in various parts of the earth: *And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.* xvi. 20.

SECT. V.

St. Matthew *wrote for the Jews, and in Judea.*

The voice of antiquity accords with Irenæus in testifying, that St. Matthew wrote for the instruction of the Jewish nation. And if we will allow, that he has given us not a mere collection of evangelical facts and doctrines, but a collection made with choice and design, we must admit this testimony as true. Whatever is characteristic in his Gospel has a plain reference to the condition, manners, and principles, of this people.

1. §. He begins with intitling Jesus Christ *the son of Abraham,* and *the son of David;* and divides his genealogy into three parts, answering to so many remarkable periods in their history; every one of which was early distinguished by predictions concerning the Messiah, peculiarly interesting to them: the *first*, By the promise to Abraham, that *in His Seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed* [1]; in the renewal of which promise Isaac was chosen before Ishmael [2], and in the bequest of which as an inheritance Jacob was preferred to Esau [3]: the *second,* by assurances to David, that the promised Seed should spring from his loins [4]; to whom the greatness of his

[1] Gen. xxii. 18. [2] xxvi. 4.
[3] xxvii. 27—29. xxviii. 4. [4] 2 Sam. vii. 16.

character,

character, offices, and acts was revealed, and by whom, as a prophet, it was represented to Israel [1]: the *third*, By marking an æra of seventy weeks [2], or four hundred and ninety years, before the end of which the Messiah should come; and foreshowing a sign of his advent in the appearance of his messenger [3].

In this genealogy, when he mentions Jacob the last of their common ancestors, he keeps up the idea of relation between *this promised Seed* and them, by noting, that Judas from whom our Lord sprang, and the other heads of their twelve tribes were brethren: *Jacob begat Judas and his brethren* [4].

2. §. In speaking next of the birth of Jesus, he could have told them what the Angel announced to the blessed Virgin: *The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end* [5]. But since they had such a propensity to mistake the Messiah's character, and to turn a spiritual into a temporal kingdom; he makes but little mention of the royalty of Christ, till the time of viewing him on a throne of judgment, when he shall gather all nations before him [6], not to heap honours on the wicked or worthless Israelite, but "to render to every man according to his deeds." He now exhibits another office of Christ, an office which few of them considered as belonging to him, but on which their real and permanent felicity de-

[1] Psalm cx. &c.
[2] Dan. ix. 24—27.
[3] Malachi iii. 1.
[4] Obiter Matthæus Christum ut cognatum omnibus Israelitis commendat. Grotius, in locum.
[5] Luke i. 32. 33.
[6] xxv. 31—46.

pended:

pended: *He shall save his people from their sins* [1].

3. §. He then begins to show, that the prophecies relating to the Messiah were fulfilled in the person of Jesus; and makes considerable use of this argument, which the two next Evangelists scarce touch upon, unless when they recite our Saviour's own words. This he did for the sake of those who insisted much on this evidence [2]; and in doing it plainly considers his readers as conversant in the prophecies which he lays before them. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is a description of Christ throughout, and the sacred writers frequently appeal to it. But St. Matthew having shown, that Christ is the person of whom it treats [3], refers to it no more, but leaves it with his reader to carry on the parallel between the prediction, and the verification of it in Jesus.

4. §. The second chapter relates the arrival of the Eastern Sages at Jerusalem, their inquiry after the new-born *King of the Jews*, whose star they had seen in their own country; the question concerning the destined place of his nativity insidiously proposed to the Sanhedrim by Herod, and his cruelty at Bethlehem in consequence of their answer. These were events well known to many then living in Judea; and were too singular and extraordinary not to merit a serious consideration.

5. §. In the third chapter, St. Matthew seems again to speak to the knowledge of his contempo-

[1] i. 21.

[2] Trypho the Jew says to Justin Martyr, I would not have heard you, if you had not referred every thing to Scripture. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 254. Ed. Thirlby.

[3] viii. 17. On the propriety of the application see the excellent note of Grotius.

raries,

raries, in relating the first interview between Jesus and John the Baptist, and that John humbly declined baptizing him. At that time John *knew him not*[1]. Whence then that awe and reverence of a private stranger? This seems a difficulty to us; but probably was none to those who had seen and heard Christ *in the flesh*. They readily conceived from their own observation and experience, that his heavenly countenance and discourse made such impression on the man of God, (an impression which his sanctified mind had a peculiar aptness to receive) that he quickly felt his own inferiority, and with free acknowledgement of it said, *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?*

6. §. The fifth and two following chapters contain the Sermon on the mount; which St. Luke also recites, but more concisely, and with omissions of two sorts. *First*, He reserves several instructions for future occasions, on which they were again delivered: for it may be remarked of him, that in few instances he repeats the same doctrine, or a similar miracle or event[2]. *Secondly*, He passes over those

[1] John i. 31. 33.

[2] For example, he mentions only one teaching on shipboard, v. 3. the stilling but of one storm on the Lake of Galilee, viii. 22—25. one miraculous feeding of a multitude with loaves and fishes, ix. 12—17. one healing of a paralytic, v. 18. for he does not say that the centurion's servant, vii. 2. had the palsy, but only that *he was sick and ready to die*; he exhibits only one woman anointing our Lord, vii. 38. of all which works St. Matthew and St. Mark relate either more or different instances: and his silence in some of them is remarkable. He observes in general the same rule with regard to our Lord's precepts and instructions. We may therefore safely admit the discourse in Chap. vi. to be the Sermon on the Mount; in which the beginning, order of instructions, and conclusion, are the same as in St. Matthew; from whom he does not vary more in this Sermon, than in the prophecy on Mount Olivet, chap. xxi. compared with Matth. xxiv. For the little difficulty about the *mountain* or the *plain*, and the *sitting* or *standing* posture of Christ, See Clarke's Paraphrase on Luke vi. 17—20.

things

things which were spoken more immediately to the Jews, to correct their false conceptions concerning the kingdom of the Messiah, and the nature and measures of obedience due to the laws of God.

For this Sermon was delivered to an auditory, many of whom had little idea of the demands of universal justice, or that they were to be called to felicity by the practice of it[1]; but imagined that their happy state under Messiah their leader and king would consist in worldly prosperity, in the abundance of wealth, pleasures, power, and honour, obtained by conquest and dominion over the rest of mankind; and that during the course of their arms the moral law would be silent, and leave them to the free gratification of their revenge, ambition, and lusts. To these persons our Lord, having briefly described the tempers and characters of which true beatitude will be the recompence, declares, that they who enlisted under him as their leader must become useful and eminent, in a world lying in corruption and darkness, by purity of manners and the lustre of good example[2]; by which the nations might be won, not to pay homage to them, but to give glory to God by a like obedience to his holy will: that he came not to abrogate but complete what is spiritual and holy in the law and prophets[3]; and they were greatly deceived, if they flattered themselves with a releasement from any part of God's moral law, which is of sacred and perpetual obligation, and renders all guilty before him, who wilfully break the least of its commandments, and who teach others to break them; and that therefore even those professors of the Mosaic law, to whom the rest looked up as models of perfection in life and

[1] See Blair's Paraphrase on the Sermon on the Mount.
[2] v. 13—16. [3] v. 17—19.

doctrine,

doctrine, fell far short of the righteousness which was necessary to gain admittance into the kingdom of heaven [1]. He then lays down some important principles of forgiveness, chastity, simplicity, meekness, and extensive charity [2]; which must centre in the heart, and animate the whole conduct of his followers, through the assistance which is offered them from above, if they hoped to be blessed by adhering to him [3]. And he still levels his doctrine against the false glosses of their expositors, and the imperfect rules of their moralists.

In another part, with a like opposition to certain semblances of piety then proper to the Jews, he speaks of *alms*, and *prayer*, and *fasting*; and assures them, that they who published their charities by sound of trumpet, who prayed standing in the streets, and fasted with disfigured faces to be seen of men, must expect no further reward of their works, than the vain applause of the multitude, which was the chief incentive to perform them [4].

And though these will be lessons instructive to the church of Christ, as long as he shall have a church militant on earth, yet St. Matthew might record them with a view to his own nation in the first instance; and that he did so, may be judged by the marked contrariety of these precepts to the maxims or practice of the Jews, and by the total omission of them in St. Luke.

One method of institution was suited to such as renounced the whole of their religion as vain; and another needful for those who cherished the errors they had grafted on a true religion, as the fairest

[1] 20. [2] 21—48. [3] vii. 7—12. [4] vi. 1—18.

part

part of it. And this being the case of the Jews, St. Matthew, that he might extirpate what was false, and cultivate the truth in their minds, gave a fuller account of this divine Sermon.

7. §. The first miracle specified by him is the healing of a *leper*[1]; and he seems to give it the precedence, though it was not the first in order of time[2], that he might begin with a work which proved to them, on Scripture authority and their own principles, the divine mission and power of Jesus. For by such a sign did Moses convince the house of Israel, that God had sent him to be their deliverer[3]: "And "the Jews themselves confess, that leprosy is the "finger of God, a disease peculiarly of his sending "and removing; and that it is not lawful for the "physician (or any but the priest directed and ap- "pointed in his course) so much as to attempt the "cure of it. Thus saith Rabbi Menachem on Lev. "xiii.[4]"

In St. Luke's Gospel, designed for other readers, the miraculous cure which stands foremost to view is that of a person possessed[5]: which displayed the power of Christ over those *demons*, to whom the Gentiles sacrificed.

8. §. St. Matthew, who had before warned the Jews by the words of John the Baptist[6], that their descent from Abraham, in which they placed such confidence, would not avail them without sincere repentance; shows them afterwards, that it would as

[1] viii. 2—4.
[2] See John ii. 11.
[3] Exod. iv. 7, 8. 31.
[4] Hammond on the place.
[5] Luke iv. 33—36.
[6] Matth. iii. 9.

little

little profit them without true faith. To provoke them to a jealousy of their birth-right, they are intitled *The children of the kingdom*, as they, *to whom the adoption and the covenants appertained, and whose were the fathers;* but at the same time are told, that unbelief would be the forfeiture of all these privileges:

viii. 11, 12. *I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. But* the children of the kingdom *shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

In a similar monition related by St. Luke [1] there is no mention of *the children of the kingdom.*

9. §. He endeavours to excite a sense of gratitude by reminding them, that the kingdom of God was first offered to them:

x. 5, 6. *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*

The other Evangelists are silent about this part of the charge to the Apostles [2]. Again:

xv. 24. *I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*

These words of Christ are not in the parallel place of St. Mark, vii. 24—30.

[1] Luke xiii. 28, 29.
[2] See Mark vi. 7—11. Luke ix. 3—5.

10. §. He

10. §. He is studious to satisfy them, that John the Baptist was the Elias foretold by Malachi, iv. 5. *Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.* On which prophecy they laid such stress, that they would hear of no Messiah, whose coming was not preceded by Elias, or a prophet resembling him [1]: and Trypho the Jew, in his conference with Justin Martyr, contends, "That Christ could neither know "himself, nor be endued with any power, till Elias "came and anointed him [2]." That therefore they might conceive a just idea of the character and office of John, St. Matthew informs them, that the institutions of the law, and the writings of the prophets, were all significant of things to come till John appeared, with whom the completion of them began; and if they would open their eyes to the truth, in a matter of great importance to them, they would perceive, that he was the predicted Elias:

xi. 13—15. *For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye will receive it,* this is Elias which was for to come. *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

St. Luke, who has the foregoing part of our Lord's discourse concerning John, almost in the same words with St. Matthew [3], stops short of this passage. Again:

xvii. 12, 13. *I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed*—Then the disciples understood, that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

[1] See Bp. Chandler's Defence of Christianity, p. 233.

[2] Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, p. 153. See also p. 235. Ed. Thirlby.

[3] Luke vii. 24—28.

The observation, which is wanting in St. Mark. ix. 13. *That he spake to them of John the Baptist,* is an instance of St. Matthew's great care to ascertain, who this Elias was.

11. §. And that they who were disposed to embrace the faith, might not be startled by the popular argument of their unbelieving countrymen, *Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?* he shows them, that the incredulity of their nation was an event foreseen and foretold:

xiii. 14, 15. *In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand: and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.*

There is an allusion to this prophecy in St. Mark and St. Luke [1]; but it is not expressly cited, nor so fully stated.

12. §. His twenty-third chapter contains a continued discourse of our Lord concerning the Scribes and Pharisees; in which he animadverts upon some things that were singularly Judaical, and which St. Mark and St. Luke do not mention, particularly that for a show of sanctity, *They made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments.* Our Lord begins this discourse with a command to his disciples to obey the Jewish rulers, and submit to their injunctions, though sometimes grievous to be borne: *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.*

[1] Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.

All

All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do. This was a precept to the circumcision; and the Gentiles had no direct concern in it, whom St. Paul exhorts, *to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.* Gal. v. 1.

13. §. So also, chap. xxiv. 20. the direction to pray, *That their flight might not be on the sabbath day,* was inserted for the benefit of the believers, who lived in Judea, and particularly at Jerusalem, and would be considered as bound by the law of Moses. The rigour of the Jews being such, that they themselves would very seldom attack, and sometimes not resist, an enemy on the Sabbath, they certainly would not suffer any of their own nation to set out or travel with their families on that day.

Let us pause a moment to contemplate the success of this petition, which certainly the faithful preferred as they had been directed. Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, advancing to Jerusalem with his army, took possession of the lower city, and assaulted the upper [1]. But when a little perseverance would have made him master of it and of the Temple, he decamped unexpectedly in the night. The ensigns of idolatry or abomination had then been *standing in the holy place* [2]; which to those who believed in Christ was the signal of escape; and doubtless from that instant they held themselves in readiness to retreat from Jerusalem, as soon as the way was open for flight. But Providence so ordered, that their flight should be neither in winter, nor on the Sabbath. In Judea the cold and rainy season does not begin before the twelfth of December [3]: and the army of Cestius retired to Antipatris, and was pursued by the Jews on

[1] Josephus, Jewish War, B. ii. C. 19.
[2] Matth. xxiv. 15, 16.
[3] Mr. Harmer's Observations on divers Passages of Scripture, V. i. p. 28.

the eighth of the month Dius, that is, the eighth of November [1]. The eighth of November, in the year of our Lord LXVI. when this happened, was Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath [2]; by the end of which it would be known at Jerusalem, that the Romans were certainly fled to a distance with disgrace and loss: so that the Christians had the whole week before them, and a moderate season of the year for their retreat, without fear of annoyance from the armies. And this was the critical instant of safety. For the controul of regular government ceasing, the bold and crafty at the head of a turbulent and frantic populace began immediately to tyrannize over the sober citizens: and the Christians especially would have felt the rage of their mad zeal, rapine, and cruelty; which, with their intestine discords and tumults, exhibited the scene of a ruining city, before the Romans attacked it [3]. The defeat of Cestius appeared in such a light to the considerate, that upon it *many of the noble Jews swam away from the city*, says Josephus, *as from a ship that was sinking* [4]. This too was in favour of the Christians, who would be less noted and more secure, for the number and power of those who withdrew at the same time. The mountains of Peræa were within fifty miles of Jerusalem, and Pella about an hundred from it. This city, which is said to have been their chief rendezvous [5], was under the jurisdiction of king Agrippa, a friend and ally of the Romans; who was providentially disposed to counte-

[1] Usher, Dissertat. de Maced. et Asian. Anno Solari, C. i. says, that Josephus, in the History of the Jewish War, reckons by Julian or Roman months, only with Syro-macedonian names. Accordingly the Archbishop in his Annals, under the year of the world 4070, calls this 8th of Dius the 8th of November.

[2] The Dominical Letter for the year of our Lord LXVI. was E.

[3] Τὸ κατάπημα τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἦν οἷα ἀπολλυμένης. Josephus, Jewish War, B. ii. C. xxii. § 1.

[4] Ibid. C. xx. § 1.

[5] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. B. iii. C. 5. Epiphanius in Lib. de Ponderibus et Mensuris, p. 171. See Reland's Palæstina, p. 924.

nance

nance the Christians [1]. Here therefore they were exempt from the wars and miseries which wasted Judea for near four years, and caused the entire destruction of city and state.

14. §. St. Matthew, who testifies a great esteem for St. Peter, and places him at the head of the Apostles more plainly than the other Evangelists, yet dwells on the history of his fall as fully as St. Mark, and mentions one circumstance more, that the second denial was *with an oath.* All ages may improve by this history; and it is therefore recited by all the Evangelists, as a lesson against self-confidence, a bright example of the mercy of Heaven to those who grieve for their offences, and a manifestation that St. Peter's fortitude soon after was not his own, but from above. But for some years from the Ascension, St. Peter was the person who stood foremost in the cause of the faith; whom they who received it considered as the chief champion of truth, and they who rejected it, as the great abettor and ringleader of heresy. His reputation was of consequence on both sides, but must be lessened in the eyes of many by the knowledge of this fact. When therefore we reflect, in how early and critical a season St. Matthew published it, we may reasonably conclude, that he divulged the guilt of his friend for the immediate benefit of his countrymen; St. Peter, no doubt, entering into his views, and with great humility forwarding the design, *That in him first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering* [2]. Many might have been intimidated as well as he to disown all acquaintance with Christ, when they saw him seized, arraigned, and condemned; some had joined in the cry for his crucifixion; others had opposed, blasphemed, or insulted him in the

[1] See Acts xxvi. 28. [2] 1 Tim. i. 16.

course

course of his ministry on earth. In some or other of these instances of guilt multitudes of Jews were involved; who yet soon afterwards might be *pricked at their hearts*, and say, *What shall we do?* To this question of distress and anguish the case of St. Peter gave a most consoling answer, That their tears of repentance would be mercifully accepted, as his had been.

15. §. St. Matthew records the answer of the Jews to Pilate, *Then answered all the people, and said, His Blood be on us, and on our children*, xxvii. 25. They themselves felt the force of this dread imprecation; and St. Matthew, in transmitting it to after-ages, bequeathed their children a legacy of admonition, which may now be paraphrased in this manner:

"What brought against you from far a nation of fierce countenance [1]; laid in ashes your city, the noblest of the eastern world [2], and your temple, the crown and glory of this city; depopulated your country, and made a fruitful land barren [3]? What drew down vengeance by the sword, pestilence, and famine, on that generation, and scattered the sad remains of them over the face of the earth? What hath withholden honour and esteem from you in all succeeding times; hath caused you to be oppressed in many nations, and contemned in all; and hath given you *a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind*, in a long unsettled dis ersion? The Providence of God punished the idolatry of your ancestors with a captivity of seventy years; but your visitation still continues after seventeen hundred. When they

[1] See Deut. xxviii. 49, 50.

[2] Orinen, in qua fuere Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium Orientis, non Judææ modo. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. v. C. 14. V. i. p. 261. Ed. Hardouin.

[3] Uber solum. Tac. Hist. v. 6. Shaw's Travels, p. 365.

forsook

forsook their idols and returned to Him, he returned to them, and brought them into their own land. You have all along hated idols, and are nevertheless without a country. Yet all the ways of the Almighty are equal. What then hath made Israel so abhorred, what sin of a blacker die than idolatry? Your fathers denied the Holy One and the Just in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let him go. They called aloud with one voice for his crucifixion, and said, *His Blood be on us, and on our children*; and as yet "their posterity praise their saying." But be not ye "as your fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation;" mourn for their sins and your own; "look on him whom you have pierced," and say, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord:" that "in Him all the seed of Israel may be justified."

16. §. St. Matthew mentions the report propagated among the Jews by the guard stationed at the sepulchre: *His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept* [1]; and suggests to them, that the impunity of the guard was a sure mark of the untruth and absurdity of the report. The soldiers, against whom there was no other evidence, accuse themselves of a capital offence; and the rulers, enraged at their negligence, let it pass unnoticed, when the punishment of it was the only method to make a story credible, the success of which they had so much at heart. Herod Agrippa believing, or desirous to make the people believe, that St. Peter had escaped from prison by the fault of the keepers, commanded them to be put to death [2]. And undoubtedly the like zeal or policy would have prompted these rulers to prosecute the guard, if they had dared to do it. Connivance in such a case was confession of a compact

[1] xxviii. 11—15. [2] Acts xii. 19.

between

between them and the soldiers, and that one party had stipulated to affirm, what each knew to be false.

The question maintained in this section, that St. Matthew wrote for the instruction of the Jews, might be enforced by other instances: but because the same things occur in St. Mark, I have purposely omitted them, that I might confine the argument, except in the case of St. Peter, to what is peculiar to St. Matthew. In so clear a point what has been already offered were too much, if the doubts of learned moderns had not made it necessary.

17. §. Yet I shall beg leave to add one remark more. The enlargement of the church by the accession of the Gentiles is announced, as was before observed, in many passages of St. Matthew's Gospel. But what shall we infer from this circumstance? That he did not write for the Jews in the first instance; or that he did not write early? View the matter in a just light, and you will see a different conclusion deducible from it. To testify to mankind, that the calling of the Gentiles was not an afterthought of the Apostles themselves, because the Jews rejected them, but an original part of the Gospel œconomy, it was fit and expedient, if not absolutely necessary, that what Christ had declared on this head, and the command which he had given his Apostles, *to disciple all nations* [1], should be registered in a book published to the world while the church was yet confined to the circumcision: and I doubt not, the providence of Heaven caused a Gospel to be soon set forth for this among other wise and weighty reasons.

18. §. The presumption is strong, that a work compiled for the use of the Jews was published in the

[1] Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Matth. xxviii. 19.

country

country which the great body of them inhabited, and to which they resorted from all quarters of the earth. But a certain proof is the date of this Gospel; which, within a few years of the Ascension, could be written only in Judea, where the twelve Apostles then constantly resided [1].

[1] Cave's Hist Literaria, V. i. p. 5. Col. 1. under *St. Peter.* Lardner's Supplement, V. i. Ch. vi. where this point is considered at large.

DISCOURSE THE FIFTH.

ON ST. MARK.

SECT. I.

St. Mark *wrote before* St. Luke.

OUR next attempt shall be to settle the order of St. Mark and St. Luke, and to consider some other circumstances relating to their Gospels.

1. §. And first, Of the order in which they wrote.

" I cannot be induced," says Grotius, " to assent " to the opinion entertained by some, that Luke was " prior in writing to Matthew and Mark. It is con- " tradicted by the order in which the Gospels have " been disposed from the earliest ages among all na- " tions; it is contradicted by ancient testimony sup- " ported by the authority of Irenæus and Tertullian; " it is contradicted by Luke himself, who has made " additions to the history of Matthew and Mark, and " when he relates the same thing, often uses their very " words [1]."

[1] Grotius on Luke i. 1.

To

To the same purpose Dr. Mill affirms, "That on "comparing the three Gospels together, it appears "clearer than light, that Luke's was published after "those of Matthew and Mark."—"That in the parts "of the evangelical history in which St. Matthew "and St. Mark agree, he seems to use the words "sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other; "but where they differ a little in any minute circum-"stances, he suits his own narration to that of "Mark; that he inserts many things into their rela-"tions; and often makes additions from the testimony "of eye-witnesses [1]."

But we are not arguing from authorities, but from such evidence as the Gospels themselves afford. And if it appear by a comparison of parallel passages, that St. Luke's narration is either plainer in itself, or to a great body of believers, I shall think I am intitled to conclude, that he wrote after St. Mark. For though elegance of style might not be the aim of either, perspicuity and explication were undoubtedly the study of both. And since one of them has manifestly adopted many things from the other, the later writer might consistently follow, if he saw no opportunity of improving, the language of the preceding, but he certainly would not alter it for the worse.

2. §. St. Matthew having related his own calling, then adds:

ix. 10. *And it came to pass as Jesus sat at meat*, in the house, *behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples.*

St. Mark having given the same account of the calling of Matthew, or Levi, says:

[1] Mill's Prolegomena, Sect. cxvi, cxvii. p. 14.

ii. 15.

ii. 15. *And it came to pass, that, as Jesus sat at meat* in his house, *many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples.*

Here Jesus being the guest, *His house* must mean the house of Matthew or Levi; which he himself out of modesty and humility had left undetermined.

St. Luke however, as well to remove all possibility of doubt, as that what St. Matthew had done might be *told for a memorial of him*, relates the matter in the following words:

v. 29. *And Levi made him a great feast* in his own house[1]: *and there was a great company of publicans, and of others that sat down with them.*

There is therefore a gradation of clearness in the three accounts, corresponding to the order in which we suppose the Gospels to have been written.

3. §. The two Evangelists relate our Lord's reply to a cavil of the Pharisees, in these words:

Mark ii. 25, 26.	Luke vi. 3, 4.
25. *And he said unto them,*	3. *And Jesus answering them, said,*
Have ye never read	*Have ye not read so much as this,*
what David did,	*what David did,*
when he had need	
and was an hungered, he	*when he was an hungered, he*
and they that were with him?	*and they that were with him?*
26. *How he went into the house of God,*	4. *How he went into the house of God,*
in the days of Abiathar the high priest,	
and did eat	and did take and eat,

[1] Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. In domo suâ. Vulgate. And though no stress should be laid on the asperate in αὐτοῦ, still the reference of this word would be more clear and certain than in St. Mark.

and

Mark ii. 25, 26.	Luke vi. 3, 4.
the shew-bread, *which is not lawful to eat,* *but for the priests,* and gave also to them that were with him ?	and gave also to them that were with him, *the shew-bread,* *which is not lawful to eat,* *but for the priests alone ?*

In St. Luke's account part of a sentence being brought higher up [*and gave also to them that were with him*] which St. Mark has placed at the end of the question, the whole of David's action is collected together. And this arrangement of the parts of it is so natural, that St. Mark, I think, would not have divided them, if he had written after St. Luke.

4. §. The miracle done at the house of Jairus is told by St. Mark and St. Luke with a detail of circumstances and similitude of expressions, which show that one of them followed the other rather than St. Matthew. But in St. Mark's narration there is a little difficulty, which St. Luke clears up by a slight transposition and change of a word or two.

St. Mark having mentioned the message which Jairus received in our Lord's presence, proceeds thus:

Ch. v. 36—38. *As soon as Jesus heard the word that was spoken, he saith unto the ruler of the synagogue, Fear not: only believe.* And he suffered no man to follow him, *save Peter, and James, and John the brother of James.* And he cometh to the house of the ruler of the synagogue.

From these words it might be imagined, that our Lord stopt the people from following him, while they were on their way to Jairus' house; and we are at a loss to conceive, how, without a miracle, a curious unruly

unruly multitude, that had *thronged* him just before, was so manageable in the open road. But this little difficulty vanishes on reading St. Luke's account, by which it appears, that it was not on the way to the house, but at the entrance into it, that our Lord suffered no one to follow him, but whom he saw proper.

Ch. viii. 50, 51. *But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying, Fear not, only believe, and she shall be made whole.* And when he came into the house, he suffered no man to go in, *save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden.*

The learned reader, by consulting the original, will find also in St. Luke a little explanation of the office of Jairus. St. Matthew calls him Ἄρχων, *a ruler or magistrate,* ix. 18. which is not a very definite term; St. Mark with more precision Ἀρχισυνάγωγος. Yet Ἄρχος in composition may denote either one who presides in an assembly or occasional meeting, as Ἀρχιτρίκλινος, *ruler of a feast,* John ii. 9. or one who is the chief of any profession, as Ἀρχιερεὺς, *a chief priest;* Ἀρχιτελώνης, *a chief publican:* and a person totally unacquainted with Jewish manners might have doubted which meaning it bore in Ἀρχισυνάγωγος. St. Luke therefore first calls Jairus Ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς, viii. 41. to determine the sense of Ἀρχισυνάγωγος, which he soon after uses with St. Mark, ver. 49.

Here then again the explication improves, as the Gospels succeeded each other.

5. §. Though Jairus was a person of some eminence, the place of his abode cannot be collected from St. Luke. And as it is justly observed of him, *That he is not apt to name places* [1], it may be of use in the present argument to take notice of some exceptions to this remark.

[1] Wall's Critical Notes, Luke ix. 18.

When

When he is going to relate the calling of St. Peter, he says, that Jesus *stood by the lake of Gennesareth*[1]; which explained to foreigners what the other Evangelists meant by *the sea of Galilee*.

Again: he informs us, that the miracle of feeding the five thousand was done in *a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida*[2], where St. Matthew and St. Mark speak only of *a desert place*.

In the following instances of naming places he is the sole relater of the things done in them. He mentions, that the annunciation was at *Nazareth, a city of Galilee*[3]; the enrolment of Joseph and Mary at *Bethlehem, the city of David, in Judea*[4]; the escape of our Lord from the fury of the multitude by a divine power upon the hill on which *Nazareth* stood[5]; the raising of a widow's son to life at a city called *Nain*, not far from *Capernaum*[6]; that ten lepers were healed in a village on the confines of *Galilee* and *Samaria*[7]; and that Zaccheus, the chief of the publicans, entertained our Lord at or near *Jericho*[8].

Now if the specification of places is not usual with him, how comes it to be found more particularly in those passages, where St. Matthew and St. Mark are explained by it, or things are related which they do not mention? In either case it was useful to deviate from his general practice; but he could not be sensible of this utility, unless he had seen their Gospels.

6. §. A part of the opinions entertained at the court of Herod concerning our Lord is thus represented by St. Mark and St. Luke:

Mark vi. 15.	Luke ix. 8.
And others said, That it is a prophet, or as one of the prophets.	*And* [it was said] *of others, that* one of the old prophets was risen again.

[1] v. 1. [2] ix. 10. Compare Matth. xiv. 13. Mark vi. 32.
[3] i. 26. [4] ii. 4. [5] iv. 29, 30. [6] vii. 11. Compare ver. 1.
[7] xvii. 11. [8] xix. 1—10.

One

One of the prophets in St. Mark, and *one of the old prophets who was risen again* in St. Luke, mean the same thing. For all authoritative prophecy had ceased for an interval of four hundred years between Malachi and John the Baptist. *One of the prophets* therefore must be a prophet revived who had lived in former ages. But since this was not understood by the world in general, St. Luke explains the matter by a periphrasis; and he uses the same description again, when the disciples replied to a question of our Lord, *Whom say the people that I am?*

Mark viii. 28.	Luke ix. 19.
And they answered, John the Baptist: but some say, Elias; and others, one of the prophets.	*They answering said, John the Baptist: but some say, Elias; and others, that* one of the old prophets is risen again.

7. §. Mark vi. 41, 42.	Luke ix. 16, 17.
41. *And when he had taken the five loaves and the two fishes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake the loaves, and gave* [them] *to his disciples to set before them; and the two fishes divided he among them all.*	16. *When he had taken the five loaves and the two fishes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed* them, *and brake, and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.*
42. *And they did* all *eat, and they were filled.*	17. *And they did eat, and they were* all *filled.*

St. Luke has so disposed his words as to show more plainly, that Christ blessed the *fishes* as well as the *loaves;* and that *all were filled:* and this disposition is so good, that he who followed would have found no reason to change it.

8. §. Mark xi. 5.	Luke xix. 33.
And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt?	*And as they were loosing the colt, the* owners *thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt?*

St. Mark says presently after, *And they let them go.* Which words imply indeed, that they who questioned the disciples about the colt, and suffered them to lead it away, had a right to dispose of it. Yet what succeeding author would have preferred this intimation to the plain proposition of St. Luke, that they were *the owners of the colt?*

9. §. Mark xii. 41—44.

41. *And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.*
42. *And there came a certain poor widow, and she cast in two mites,*
which make a farthing.
43. *And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all which have cast into the treasury.*
44. *For all they have cast in of their abundance:*

but she of her want hath cast in all that she had, her whole living.

Luke xxi. 1—4.

1. *And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting* their gifts *into the treasury.*

And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites.

3. *And he said,*
Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all.

4. *For all these have cast in of their abundance unto* the offerings of God;
but she of her want hath cast in all the living that she had.

As this incident is not related by St. Matthew, it must be numbered in the list of passages, which either St. Mark or St. Luke had adopted from the other. The intent of casting money into the treasury may be collected from St. Mark; but certainly St. Luke hath made it plainer to strangers, by calling the money which they cast in *their gifts*, and by indicating, that this treasury was a bank which received *the offerings of God.*

The reason why St. Mark explains the value of a *mite* will be given in another place [1].

[1] See Sect. iv. of this Discourse.

10 §. In

10. §. In Ch. xiii. 24, 25. of St. Mark the destruction of the Jewish nation and polity is foretold, as in St. Matthew:

But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light. And the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken.

And the argument from the terms of the prophecy will in great measure apply to St. Mark as well as St. Matthew, and infer the same conclusion, That this figurative and symbolical style of prediction must have preceded the plain interpretation of it given by St. Luke. See Disc. iv. Sect. ii. §. 8.

11. §. Mark xiv. 54. 66, 67.

54. *And Peter followed him afar off, even into the palace of the high priest; and he sat with the servants, and warmed himself at* the blaze of fire.

* * * * * * * * *

66. *And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest:*
67. *And when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth.*

Luke xxii. 54—56.

54. *And Peter followed afar off.*
55. *And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were set down together, Peter sat down among them.*

56. *But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by* the blaze of fire,

and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him.

I have translated the word φῶς, *a blaze of fire*, to distinguish it from the common word πῦρ used by St. Luke in verse 55, where he speaks of *the fire kindled in the midst of the hall.* He introduces φῶς in the following verse, where it is more significant: for this *blaze of fire*, by which Peter sat, enabled the maid to discern, that he was a disciple of Jesus.

This meaning of φῶς, though not without classical authority [1], is not very common; which makes it more likely, that St. Luke took the word from St. Mark, and placed it to advantage.

12. §. He has another word, for which he pretty plainly appears indebted to St. Mark; and that is, ἀνώγεον· by which name they both call the *upper room*, where our Lord was to keep his last passover [2]. The word is not common, and in all other places he calls such a room ὑπερῶον [3].

13. §. In the following passages St. Luke seems to have had an eye to both St. Matthew and St. Mark:

Matth. xiv. 14.

And when Jesus went forth he saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them,

and he healed their sick.

Mark vi. 34.

And when Jesus went forth he saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd: and he began to teach to them many things.

Luke ix. 11.

And the multitudes, when they knew it, followed him: and he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing.

Here St. Luke unites the two instances of Christ's goodness to the people; of which St. Matthew had given only one, and St. Mark the other. Again:

[1] Raphelius on Mark xiv. 54. Hutchinson's Cyropæd. p. 528. 4to.

[2] Mark xiv. 15. Luke xxii. 12.

[3] Acts i. 13. ix. 37. 39. xx. 8.

14. §. Matth.

14. §. Matth. xxvi. 67, 68.

Then did they spit in his face,

and buffeted him,
and others smote him
with the palms of their hands,
Saying, Prophesy unto us,
thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?

Mark xiv. 65.

And some began to spit on him,
and to cover his face,
and to buffet him,
and to say unto him, Prophesy:
and the servants did strike him
with the palms of their hands.

St. Matthew leaves his readers to suppose, that the officers or servants *covered our Lord's face:* and St. Mark omits to tell, *what it was that they bid him prophesy.* But St. Luke, by mention of both circumstances, sets the matter in a clearer light, and completes the narration of the two other Evangelists:

Luke xxii. 63, 64.

And the men that held Jesus mocked him, and smote him. And when they had covered him, *they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying, Prophesy,* who is he that smote thee?

In all these parallels there is still some advantage of *explication* or *clearness* on the side of St. Luke; nor can any thing, as far as I perceive, be cast as a counterpoise into the opposite scale. Yet St. Mark, by improving on St. Matthew's expressions, shows that he would have availed himself of St. Luke's, had the Gospel of the latter been already published.

Two observations remain, conspiring to the same end: the first of which being merely grammatical requires the originals to be quoted; the other bears reference to the reasoning in Discourse iii. Sect. v. §. 8. on an order of history in the Gospels which is not the order of time:

15. §. Mark

15. §. Mark xii. 38—40.	Luke xx. 46, 47.
38. Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων, Τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν, καὶ ασπασμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς.	46. Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων, Τῶν θελόντων περιπατεῖν ἐν στολαῖς, καὶ φιλέντων ἀσπασμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς,
39. Καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις·	καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις·
40. Οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· ἕτοι λήψονται περισσότερον κρίμα.	47. Οἱ κατεσθίουσι τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσεύχονται· ἕτοι λήψονται περισσότερον κρίμα.

In strict propriety τῶν θελόντων in the beginning of St. Mark's sentence, ver. 38. required τῶν κατεσθιόντων and προσευχομένων in ver. 40. And though the best Greek authors have sometimes deviated from common rules in the very same manner; yet who can think that St. Mark wrote thus after St. Luke, and, agreeing so much with him in other respects, changed a regular into an irregular syntax? If we suppose St. Luke to have followed, may we not observe in him a certain delicacy with regard to St. Mark? Οἱ κατεσθίουσι and προσεύχονται are not so visibly opposed to οἱ κατεσθίοντες and προσευχόμενοι, as τῶν κατεσθιόντων and προσευχομένων would have been, but avoid the irregularity of that construction without pointing it out, or seeming to rectify it.

16. §. Critics and Harmonists have observed, that where there is any difference between St. Matthew and St. Mark, St. Luke usually accords with the latter. And this is true of him not only in particular relations, but in the general disposition of facts. And I suppose, they who have fancied that some parts of the evangelical history are misplaced in the present copies of St. Matthew, founded their conceit on the concurrence of St. Mark and St. Luke in those parts. But

But what has been shown in one instance[1] is probably true in more; that they sometimes agree in placing things, not in a chronological sequence, but in another order, which they there esteemed more apt and convenient. Their agreement therefore can determine nothing concerning St. Matthew; but with regard to themselves implies, that one of them was the exemplar or pattern to the other. To which of them then does probability of reason assign this character? Let one thing be assumed, which has been proved in part, and will be proved more fully in the next section, that St. Peter directed, and in great measure dictated, the Gospel of St. Mark; and then we may answer this question, by asking, Whether it is likely that an Apostle and eye-witness of all that he dictated, was guided by the clue of St. Luke's Gospel, rather than his own knowledge, through a train of facts which he was perpetually reviewing, and long habituated to explain? This is hardly credible; nor can we well hesitate to pronounce, that St. Peter traced the way in St. Mark's Gospel, which St. Luke followed.

SECT. II.

St. Mark *wrote his Gospel under the direction of* St. Peter.

Having thus endeavoured to confirm one part of the ancient testimonies concerning St. Mark, *that he was the next Evangelist to St. Matthew;* I go on to consider another, *that his Gospel was written under the direction of St. Peter, and in great measure dictated by him.*

1. §. And first, It appears to have been dictated by an *eye-witness. The pillow in the hinder part*

[1] Discourse iii. Sect v. § 7.

of

of the ship, on which Jesus was asleep [1]; *the green grass on which the multitude sat down* [2] to be miraculously fed; *the rising of blind Bartimæus, and the casting away of his garment* [3], when our Lord called him; *the colt tied by the door without, in a place where two ways met* [4]; these and many other minute matters indicate, that the historian had been a spectator, who described them, because they were imprinted on his mind in seeing the action which he relates. And the distinct and particular manner in which the principal facts are generally told is a further evidence of this point.

2. §. Secondly, It appears to have been dictated by a *Galilean.* Herod the Tetrarch is here styled *a king* [5]; the lake of *Galilee*, the *sea of Galilee*; and St. Mark, as well as St. Matthew, when he speaks of crossing this lake, talks the language of the borderers on it: *Let us pass over unto* the other side [6]. Instead of which St. Luke says, *Let us go unto the other side* of the lake.

3. §. Thirdly, It was dictated by an *Apostle.* When the Apostles sent Epistles to the church, it was often requisite to declare their character as well as name, and to show, with what commission they wrote: and on these occasions they intitle themselves *Apostles.* But in the Gospel the case was different: where Christ is the teacher, not they; and his authority only, not theirs, the object. Here therefore they call themselves *Disciples*, and choose a name which set them more on a level with the other followers of their Lord. Thus St. Matthew speaks constantly of them; the place excepted, where he is to relate their appointment and names [7]. The name of *Apostle* is found but once in St. John [8], and then not

[1] Mark iv. 38. [2] vi. 39. [3] x. 46. [4] xi. 4.
[5] Mark vi. 14. &c. See Sermon, p. 11.
[6] Compare Mark iv. 35. with Luke viii. 22.
[7] Matth. x. 2. [8] See the original of John xiii. 16.

in.

in its appropriate sense, in the judgment of our Translators, but as a general term. Now as St. Mark is equally reserved in giving them this title of dignity, which he uses only once [1], we esteem it a sign, that the director of his Gospel was of the same order with the Apostolical Evangelists. St. Luke, in whom it had been no act of humility to suppress the title which belonged to them, calls them frequently *Apostles*.

4. §. Again: St. Matthew, as we might expect from him, is free and ingenuous in revealing the many imperfections of the Apostles, and the reproofs which they received from Christ during their attendance upon him. He mentions their slowness in apprehending our Lord's doctrine [2]; the weakness of their faith after experience of his mighty power [3]; the jealousies which they harboured of each other [4]; the want of courage shown by them in the hour of trial, when *they all forsook him and fled*, after strong protestations of adherence to him [5]. Which several instances of their frailty are as plainly related by St. Mark: he has even added a few not mentioned by St. Matthew [6]. But these things, which it better became themselves to confess than another to proclaim, are either passed over or sparingly mentioned by St. Luke. And from hence we may conclude, that the account given of the Apostles in St. Mark's Gospel came immediately from one of themselves, and was written by his injunction.

But to bring the matter nearer to St. Peter: though this Gospel was compiled by his son in Christ, it con-

[1] Mark vi. 30.
[2] Matth. xv. 16. xvi. 9. Compare Mark vii. 18. viii. 18.
[3] Matth. xv. 33. Compare Mark viii. 4.
[4] Matth. xx. 24. Compare Mark x. 41.
[5] Matth. xxvi. 35. Compare Mark xiv. 31.
[6] Mark vi. 52. ix. 10. x. 32.

sults

sults his credit and reputation less in every view, than any one of the others. The fact is evident, and I think the reason of it as plain.

5. §. Soon after the calling of St. Peter, Christ was received at his house. St. Matthew and St. Luke mention it as *the house of* Simon or Peter [1]. But St. Mark, that he may not seem to arrogate the slightest matter to him, calls it *the house of* Simon *and* Andrew.

6. §. When the twelve Apostles were to be enumerated, it was necessary to place St. Peter at the head of the sacred list, as is done by the other Evangelists; but it is managed in such a manner, that you scarce perceive the preference given him:

Ch. iii. 14—17. *And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach; And to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils: And Simon he surnamed Peter; And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; &c.*

The words of St. Matthew on this occasion are,

Ch. x. 2. *Now the names of the twelve Apostles are these;* the first *Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother, &c.*

All the Evangelists relate, that St. Peter, before called Simon, had the honour of receiving a new name from Christ; but St. Mark only qualifies this honour by showing, that it was not conferred singly on him:

iii. 17. *And James the son of Zebedee, and John*

[1] Compare Matthew viii. 14. Luke iv. 38. with Mark i. 29.

the

the brother of James: and he surnamed them Boanerges, *which is, The sons of Thunder.*

7. §. He leaves out the benediction and promises, to which St. Peter had intitled himself by the profession of his faith; but relates at large the sharp rebuke which he presently after incurred for not bearing to hear, that Christ must suffer [1].

But with regard to St. Peter's infirmities one general reflection may suffice: that whatever appears of that kind in the other Gospels, is faithfully recorded in St. Mark's; in which, as many have taken notice, less is said of his speedy repentance and bitter tears, after his great fall, than by St. Matthew and St. Luke.

8. §. The name of Peter, as part of the Angel's message by the women to the disciples on the resurrection of Christ, is found only in this Gospel:

xvi. 7. *But go your way, tell his disciples,* and Peter, *that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him.*

And this at first view may look like a distinction of honour. But I think the comment of St. Gregory sets the matter in a just light: "*If the Angel had* "*not named Peter, he had not dared to come with* "*the* Disciples. *His name therefore is expressly* "*mentioned, lest his fall should make him despond*[2]." Thus what was consolatory and kind, was at the same time humiliating, as bearing reference to his late offence.

[1] Compare Mark viii. 28—32. with Matth. xvi. 14—23.

[2] Si angelus Petrum non nominasset, venire inter discipulos non auderet; vocatur ergo ex nomine, ne desperet ex negatione. See Whitby on this verse.

9. §. On

9. §. On some occasions St. Peter, with James and John, was chosen to accompany our Lord, in preference to the other Apostles. When he restored the daughter of Jairus to life; when he was transfigured on the mount; when he uttered his prophecy concerning the ruin of the Jewish state; and when he endured his agony in the garden; his only attendants were Peter and James and John; except that Andrew was once with them. Of these circumstances St. Mark makes mention, and he could not avoid it: for if his Gospel contains the testimony of St. Peter, it was especially requisite to show, where few were witnesses of the facts related, that he was one of them. They were indeed tokens of high favour and preference, but shared by St. Peter with some others. There were many things which tended solely to his honour; of which St. Mark never exhibits any view.

10. §. Mr. Jones has reckoned up eight particulars of this sort, which here follow in his words[1]:

I. "The account of Christ's pronouncing Peter "blessed, when he had confessed him; his declaring "that he had his faith and knowledge from God; his "promise of the keys and of that large power which "is made to him, &c. are omitted by St. Mark, "though the former and succeeding parts of this "Discourse are both told by him. See Matth. xvi. "16—20. compared with Mark viii. 29, 30.

II. "The relation of St. Peter's being commis-"sioned by Christ to work the miracle, by getting "money out of the fish's mouth to pay the tribute-"money, is told by St. Matthew, chap. xvii. 24—28.

[1] New and full Method of settling the Canon of the New Testament, V. iii. p. 80. See also Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 49.

"but

" but omitted by St. Mark, though the preceding " and subsequent stories are the same as in St. Mat- " thew. See Mark ix. 30—33.

III. " Christ's particular expressions of love and " favour to St. Peter, by telling him of his danger, " and that he prayed particularly for him, that his " faith might not fail, is omitted by St. Mark, but " related, Luke xxii. 31, 32.

IV. " St. Peter's remarkable humility above the " rest of the Apostles, expressed in an unwillingness " that Christ should wash his feet, which none of the " rest did express, with Christ's particular discourse " to him, &c. John xiii. 6. is omitted by Mark.

V. " The instance of St. Peter's very great zeal " for Christ when he was taken, in cutting off the High " Priest's servant's ear, John xviii. 10. is not men- " tioned by St. Mark in particular, but only told in " general of a certain person that stood by: Mark " xiv. 47.

VI. " St. Peter's faith in leaping into the sea to go " to Christ, John xxi. 7. is not mentioned by St. " Mark.

VII. " Christ's discourse with Peter concerning his " love to him, and his particular repeated charge to " him to feed his sheep, John xxi. 15. is omitted by " St. Mark.

VIII. " Our Saviour's predicting to Peter his mar- " tyrdom, and the manner of it, John xxi. 18, 19. is " not related by St. Mark."

Thus far Mr. Jones; who justly numbers this prediction among St. Peter's honours: for nothing certainly

tainly could so much ennoble his active zeal and steady perseverance in the cause of Christ, as a foreknowledge of suffering and dying for it [1].

The list of instances given by Mr. Jones may be enlarged with a few more of the same nature; that is, where something that tended to exalt the character of St. Peter is suppressed by St. Mark.

IX. The calling of St. Peter was made memorable by a wonder, which was repeated in his presence after our Lord's resurrection; who, by a draught of fishes which was symbolical as well as miraculous, thus assured him of great success in catching men with the net of the Gospel. See Luke v. 2—9. John xxi. 6—11.

X. The servants of God had sometimes walked through the parted waters; but no mere man do we read of in holy writ who was enabled to walk upon them, but St. Peter. See Matth. xiv. 29.

XI. St. Peter made another profession of his faith, besides that which St. Matthew mentions [2]; a profession as declarative of his faith, and more demonstrative of unshaken fidelity and attachment to Christ:

John vi. 66—69. *From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the Twelve, Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.*

[1] —— Sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet. Hor. Od. L. iii. Ode v. 50.

[2] Matth. xvi. 16—20.

XII. Our

XII. Our Lord, on the day before his Passion, sent two of his disciples to Jerusalem to prepare the passover. On which occasion it was the office of the master of the family, or owner of the lamb, to receive it from the hands of the priests after it had been slain in the temple [1]. Here therefore these disciples appeared and acted in their master's stead. And since it would be judged, that Christ deputed such to represent him at his father's house as were worthiest to do it, the choice which he made of them was an honourable preference; and at the same time a token of his confidence in their faith, obedience, and care. One of the two disciples being St. Peter, St. Mark conceals their names.

XIII. St. Peter was the first of the Apostles, to whom our Lord showed himself after his resurrection [2]. The omission of which circumstance is the more observable in St. Mark, as he makes particular mention, in what manner Mary Magdalene was distinguished among the women:

Mark xvi. 9. *Now when Jesus was risen early, the first day of the week, he appeared* first *to Mary Magdalene.*

Thus every page of this Gospel exhibits such strong and clear characters of St. Peter's modesty and great humility, without a token appearing of St. Mark's affection and reverence for him, and, as far as could possibly be, without mention of the honours he received from Christ, that there can scarce be a question or doubt, who was the chief director of the work.

11. §. The most specious objection to this conclusion arises from the difference between St. Peter in

[1] Maimonides in Ainsworth on Exod. xii. 7.
[2] Luke xxiv. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 5.

his

his second Epistle and St. Mark in his Gospel, concerning the heavenly voice heard at the Transfiguration: for it may be argued, that there could not have been any difference, if the author of the Epistle had dictated the Gospel; whereas the account of this heavenly voice in the Epistle is,

i. 17. *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased:*

in the Gospel,

ix. 7. *This is my beloved Son: hear him.*

The whole was,

This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear him. Matth. xvii. 5.

Now if St. Peter in his Epistle related only so much of this sentence as his argument required, may he not have done the same thing in a concise Gospel, in which the clause, which is here left out, *In whom I am well pleased*, had been already mentioned? for it stands in the history of Christ's baptism.

We may see a reason, why the words, *Hear him*, omitted in the Epistle, were carefully recorded in the Gospel. They were spoken to the Apostles, just as Moses the giver and Elias the restorer of the law disappeared; and signified, that Christ was now the legislator, who only was to be heard. If it is not so easy to discern why the other member of the sentence, *In whom I am well pleased*, was not also recited, this one difficulty cannot subvert a conclusion drawn from such evident premises; and which is confirmed by another consideration, That St. Mark's Gospel is solicitously restricted to those parts of the life of Christ, which St. Peter had heard or seen.

12. §. I have mentioned above, that St. Mark touches on the *Temptation* very slightly, at which St. Peter was not present; and does not relate the discourse which passed at the *Transfiguration* while he was asleep[1]. There is the same silence concerning the appearance of an Angel to strengthen our Lord during his agony in the garden; for then again St. Peter, with his companions John and James, was sleeping, *for sorrow*, as St. Luke expresses it[2].

13. §. St. Mark takes no notice of the miracle performed at Nain, where the son of a widow was raised to life, as he was carried on a bier to his burial. This miracle was done in the absence of the Apostles; as, I think, St. Luke plainly intimates. He says, on this occasion, that there went with Christ *many of his disciples*, οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἱκανοὶ, vii. 11[3]. But he never speaks of the Apostles in this manner; and must therefore mean those other attendants of Christ, whom in another place he distinguishes from the Apostles, by calling them, *The company* or crowd *of his disciples*, ch. vi. 17.

As soon as he has told the miracle, he relates, that John the Baptist sent two of his disciples with a message to Christ, which, as I shall endeavour to prove presently, was brought in the absence of the Apostles; next, that our Lord was invited to dine with Simon, a Pharisee; of which the other Evangelists say nothing. He then proceeds as follows:

Luke viii. 1. *And it came to pass afterward, that he went throughout every city and village, preaching*

[1] Sermon, p. 9.

[2] xxii. 45. Primo cura, dein, ut ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. C. lxxi. See Hom. Odyss. xvi. 450.

[3] Non Apostolos, sed quosvis assiduos sectatores significat. Grot. in loc.

and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God: and the twelve were with him.

Why is this mentioned of Christ's stated attendants, but because they had been away, and were then returned to him? Their absence, when the young man of Nain was restored to life, was certainly possible, and is the more likely to have been really the case, because St. Matthew, as well as St. Mark, passes over this great miracle, though done in Galilee.

14. §. St. Mark seems to have acted on the same principle, in not relating the message of John the Baptist to Christ, and the high testimony borne by Christ to the character of John: of which both St. Matthew and St. Luke make particular mention [1]. Our Lord, according to St. Matthew's connection of facts, had given his charge to the Apostles, and sent them from him to preach the Gospel, before the messengers of John presented themselves to him [2]: and the Apostles had not yet rejoined him, when John was beheaded in prison [3]. This interval is filled up by St. Mark with an account of John's admonitions to Herod, of the reason of his imprisonment, and the occasion and manner of his death. In which account he is more diffuse than usual, and more circumstantial than the other Evangelists. But the history of Christ was at a stand, and left room for a digression, till the return of St. Peter enabled him to proceed in pursuance of his plan.

15. §. It seems, by these examples, that he adheres, as closely as historical connection would admit, to what St. Peter himself had *seen and heard of*

[1] Matth. xi. 2—19. Luke vii. 19—35.
[2] Compare Matth. x. 5. with xi. 1, 2. [3] Mark vi. 29, 30.

the

the word of life; which consideration may serve to strengthen the evidence, that he wrote under the inspection of that Apostle: and at the same time to solve the question, Why he hath taken no notice of the facts contained in the first and second chapters of St. Matthew. It did not come within the limits, nor consist with the nature, of his work to relate them.

SECT. III.

For whom St. Mark *composed his Gospel.*

St. Mark wrote his Gospel for a mixt society of Jewish and Gentile converts, with attention to the circumstances of both, and did not publish it in Judea.

1. §. He follows St. Matthew in several things which more nearly interested the Jews. The censures past by our Lord on their superstitious usages, on the vanity of their mere external duties, and the repugnancy of their traditions to the word of God, are related at large [1]. In another place the abuse of the indulgence granted by the Mosaic law, in the matter of divorces, is reproved, and the nature of the marriage union declared [2]. And because it was a question much agitated among them, *Which was the first and great commandment* [3]? some contending for the law of sacrifices, others for that of circumcision, or the Sabbath, a clear decision of this question is given [4]. He records the incident of the barren fig-tree, which was an emblem of their morals, and a type of the destruction of their city and state, and the rejection of their nation [5]. He dwells on the caution

[1] Mark vii. 3—13. [2] x. 2—12.
[3] See Grotius and Whitby on Matth. xxii. 36.
[4] Mark xii. 28—31. [5] xi. 12—14.

against false Christs and their deceivable miracles [1]; to which illusion none were so much exposed as the Jews, who might be tempted by specious appearances to relapse into the expectation of a conquering Messias. He sets before them the great guilt of their rulers in suborning false witnesses against our Lord in their council [2], and in being the inciters of the people to prefer Barabbas to him [3].

These articles, either slightly or not at all mentioned by St. Luke, St. Mark insists on, as well as St. Matthew, for the admonition of the Jews.

2. §. But then again it appears by many instances, a few of which have been mentioned in Discourse iv. Section i. § 1—§ 5. that he considered the state of the newly converted Gentiles.

He and St. Luke, in the story of the man possessed with a legion of demons, mention his address to Christ in these words: "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of *the most high God* [4]?" In no other part of the Gospels do we find *The most high* as an epithet to God: they are used separately as equivalent terms; and St Matthew in the parallel place has only, *Thou Son of God*. Why then are they united by St. Mark and St. Luke? The man and his friends were pagans; and he was constrained by an over-ruling power to confess the true God in this explicit manner: just as the Pythonissa did afterwards at Philippi, by saying, "These men are the servants of *the most high God*," Acts xvi. 17 [5]. And

[1] xiii. 6. 21—23. [2] xiv. 55—59. [3] xv. 11.
[4] Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28. Compare Matth. viii. 29.
[5] *The most high God* occurs but once more in the New Testament, Heb. vii. 1. and is there taken from Gen. xiv. 18. where Melchizedec is called "The priest of *the most high God*," to show, that the God whom he served was the true God, and not one of the

they retain the very form of words used by the demoniac, for the sake of those who had believed in *gods many and lords many;* and to whom the bare name of God did not so surely present the proper and sublime notion of the word.

3. §. It seems evident, that the man and his friends were pagans [1], both from his own words and our Saviour's, who often exacted a concealment of his miracles from those whom he had healed of his own nation, but commanded this man *to return to his house, and show what great things God had done for him;* that the true God, the God of Israel, might be glorified among those who were strangers to him.

It was to the purpose of St. Mark and St. Luke to relate an instance of Christ's mercy to a pagan: and the character of this man as such was more clearly shown by speaking of him only. For this reason they take no notice of another demoniac, probably a Jew, who was healed at the same time.

the gods of the nations. For the same reason Abraham, ib. ver. 22. speaking of an oath which he had taken, "said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine hand unto *the Lord, the most high God.*" And I believe, throughout the Old Testament, *The most high* is conjoined with the name of God only in the like cases; unless perhaps in a place or two of the Psalms it may be rather a poetical than discriminative epithet.

[1] The Gadarenes, at least the ruling part of them, seem to have been Gentiles: for the Jews, however they might dislike Herod, would hardly have desired to be separated from a prince of their own religion, and put under a pagan jurisdiction; as the Gadarenes requested of Augustus, asking to be made part of the province of Syria. One of the charges, which on this occasion they brought against Herod, was κατασκαφὰς ἱερῶν where ἱερὰ seems to denote pagan temples, and not Jewish synagogues, which Herod probably would not have destroyed. Josephus, Ant. B. xv. c. x. § 3.

I think

I think too, that the history being restricted to one case proves more distinctly, that the disorder healed was not a *natural phrenzy*, but a *real possession* by evil spirits. While the man was standing single before Christ, *All the demons besought him.* So says the Evangelist; for they are his words relating a fact, not the man's uttering his own fancies. Who then are all these demons? We must suppose St. Mark to talk a strange language indeed, and beyond all bounds of sober metaphor, if he spoke of a poor solitary lunatic as a number of demons.

4. §. He sometimes frees the spirit of a doctrine from the restrictions of the letter. For in the economy of our redemption Christ on earth was to confine his ministry to the people of Israel. To them he delivered his instructions, and through them to the rest of mankind. The doctrine was designed for all nations, but in some cases was clothed with a language that in the first instance bore reference to this particular people: on which occasions it now and then happens, that St. Matthew gives the immediate words, the other two Evangelists, as writing on a more general plan, the ultimate sense of them. And hence a little difference of expression between him and them; as in the following example [1]:

Matth. xxii. 36—40.	Mark xii. 28—31.
36. *Which is the great commandment in* the law?	28. *Which is the* first *commandment* of all?
37. *Jesus said unto him,*	29. *And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is,* Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;
	30. *And*
Thou shalt love the Lord thy	*thou shalt love the Lord thy*

[1] See two instances from Luke vi. 31. and xi. 42. Disc. vi. Sect. i. § 2.

God

Matth. xxii. 36—40.	Mark xii. 28—31.
God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.	*God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.*
38. *This is the first and great commandment.*	
39. *And the second is like unto it,*	31. *And the second is like, namely this,*
Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.	*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*
40. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.	There is none other commandment greater than these.

In St. Matthew, the question is concerning the great commandment of a particular law; and the answer corresponds to such a state of the question: but in St. Mark, they are abstracted from a consideration of this law, and made general. The Scribe inquires, Which is the first commandment of all? and our Lord in return tells him the two leading and inseparable principles of the universal law of God.

St. Mark reminded those who had been educated in polytheism of the oneness of the Godhead, by a larger quotation of the Divine Oracle; and, by showing among whom it originated, hinted to the haughty Romans, (for he published his Gospel in Italy, as will soon appear) that the instruments of conveying this first of truths to them were a people whom they were apt to despise, but to whom *Hear, O Israel,* was addressed long before *Rome existed.*

By insinuating this lesson of humility, he co-operated with St. Paul, who found it requisite to recommend specially to the Roman church, *Not to be high-minded.* See Rom. xi. 20.

5. §. The Scribe, whose question was thus answered, made a reply, of which St. Mark only takes notice:

32. *And*

32. *And the Scribe said unto him, Well, master, thou hast said the truth, for there is one God, and there is none other but he.*

33. *And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.*

34. *And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.*

This speech of the Scribe, which Christ approved, brought the unity of the Godhead again in sight. At the same time it was a lecture to the Jew, not to depend on the efficacy of his animal sacrifices; and an intimation to the Gentile, that pure and spiritual religion, such as the Gospel taught, superseded the use of them.

6. §. But in the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel it is more openly signified, that the observance of legal ordinances was no longer required.

St. Matthew thus reports the words of our Lord to his Apostles:

Go ye and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost [1].

Here indeed is a silence about circumcision, as a rite of admission into the Christian church, but no clear releasement from it: for baptism might not abrogate circumcision, but be joined with it, according to the practice of the Jews, who administered both to a proselyte from paganism [2]. But St. Mark having

[1] xxviii. 19.

[2] Grotius on Matth. iii. 6. Wetstein on the same.

related

related the injunction of Christ to the Apostles, of preaching the Gospel to every creature, adds, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved*[1]: which in just construction is a promise of salvation without circumcision, and the ceremonies of the law.

7. §. St. Mark appeals only twice in the whole, and only once concerning Christ, to the prophets of the Old Testament.

First, in speaking of John the Baptist, whose mission, not being warranted by miracles, rested on the authority of prophecy, he cites two short passages from Isaiah and Malachi[2].

Secondly, In the history of the crucifixion he refers to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: *And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors*[3]. Here again it was highly expedient to call in the aid of prophecy, as it furnished an answer, which the first Christians never failed to return to the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles, when they made objections to the ignominy of the Cross, *That so God had ordained and foretold by his prophets*[4].

[1] xvi. 16. [2] Mark i. 2, 3. [3] xv. 28.

[4] See Acts ii. 23. xvii. 3. xxvi. 23. &c. Τίνι γὰρ ἂν λόγῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σαυρωθέντι ἐπειθόμεθα, ὅτι πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐστι, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν τῶ παντὸς τῶ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποιήσεται, εἰ μὴ μαρτύρια πρὸ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον κεκηρυγμένα περὶ αὐτῶ εὕρομεν, καὶ ὅτως γενόμενα ὁρῶμεν; Justin Martyr, Apol. i. p. 78. Ed. Thirlby. p. 88. Ed. Paris. See also his Dial. with Trypho, p. 334. p. 317. Ed. Paris.

Origen Contra Celsum, L. i. p. 41. Ed. Cantab. 1658. 4to.

Tertull. Apoll. Ch. xxi. p. 20. Ed. Rigaltii, Paris, 1675. Prædixerat et ipse, ita facturos. Parum hoc, nisi et prophetæ retro.

Ruinart. Acta Martyrum, p. 495. fol. De Philea Martyre, Alexandriæ Antistite:

Culcianus dixit, Est Deus crucifixus? Phileas respondit: Propter nostram salutem crucifixus est; et quidem sciebat, quia crucifigendus erat, et contumelias passurus, et dedit semetipsum omnia pati propter nos. Etenim sacræ Scripturæ hæc de eo prædixerant.

St.

St. Luke has taken care to give us the same words of Isaiah, *And he was numbered with the transgressors* [1], but as mentioned by our Lord himself, and as a proof not only of God's decree, but of Christ's foreknowledge. In his own person, I believe, he alleges no prophecy but that of Isaiah relating to the Baptist.

The completion of prophecy is undoubtedly an argument to mankind in general. But the force of the argument, as it respects the Messiah, is the gradual and still clearer designation of him in different ages; the bearing of various shadows and figures to him as the substance; the correspondence of many types to him as the antitype; the consent of dissimilar and even opposite characters (as of humiliation and glory, servitude and royalty, death and perpetuity, manhood and divinity) in his person, as concentering, harmonizing, and illuminating the whole. And though proofs might be adduced from detached passages of this system, yet they were most fitly urged to those, who either were read in the Law, and Prophets, and history of the Old Testament, or were apprized, that the passages alleged did, by constant tradition of the elders, and in the judgment of the most learned interpreters, relate to the Messiah.

Wherefore St. Mark and St. Luke, when they speak in their own persons, wave the use of this great argument. They differ in this point from St. Matthew, who *spoke to them that knew the Law*; I add, from St. John also, who wrote when the Gentiles were further instructed unto the kingdom of heaven: and rest the cause on the life and doctrine, the miracles and resurrection, of our Lord, as yielding a convincing evidence that he was the Son of God; an evidence by itself satisfactory to the minds of the well-disposed,

[1] xxii. 37.

whether

whether learned or unlearned, and best suited to the noviciate of the Gentile churches.

8. §. Two classes of examples have now been produced, and illustrated by comparing them with St. Matthew on one hand, and St. Luke on the other. But we must bring to the account of the latter class the explications of Jewish matters before noted[1]; and then I think we may conclude, that St. Mark composed his Gospel with the comprehension with which his father in Christ, St. Peter, did his first Epistle. The instructions of this Epistle, as was observed above[2], are directed partly to the believing Jews, and partly to those, *who, in time past, were not a people, but were then the people of God*, that is, the Gentiles. Ch. ii. 10.

SECT. IV.

St. Mark *published his Gospel at* Rome *or in* Italy.

His Gospel was not published in Judea, as may be inferred from the same explications, which had been needless in a church consisting wholly of the circumcision. There are many internal signs, confirming the testimony of the ancients, that it made its first appearance in Italy or at Rome.

1. §. Among these we may reckon several *Latin words*. And though Latinity had by that time made inroads into the conquered provinces, even of the Greeks[3], yet Σπεκουλάτωρ for *an executioner*, vi. 37.

[1] Discourse iv. Sect. i.

[2] Discourse ii. Sect. ii. § 6. See also 1 Pet. iv. 3. and Wolfius and Doddridge on the place.

[3] Grotius on Luke xii. 58. 1 Cor. xvi. 17. Raphelii Annotat. in Nov. Test. V. i. p. 426. on Mark xv. 29.

and

and Κεντυρίων for *a centurion*, xv. 39. [1] seem not, either then or long after, to have obtained among them. St. Matthew, who is not averse to Latin words, and no less than three times calls a *watch* or *guard* Κουϛωδία [2], yet in the place answering to this of St. Mark has Ἑκατόνταρχος for a *centurion* [3]; and the same word is retained by later writers, as Josephus and Plutarch: so that it is not easy to give a good account, why St. Mark made choice of these words, but by supposing, that he thought it best to address himself to the Romans in their own terms. According to Grotius, Οὐὰ, *Ah! thou that destroyest the temple*, xv. 29. is no other than the Latin interjection *Vah!* and an instance of it in a work of Arrian, composed perhaps a century after, will not prove, that it was commonly received among the Greeks in the days of the Evangelist [4]. But a written interjection being of very ambiguous import, except among those who are accustomed to it, this looks again, as if he made use of *Vah!* where it was most familiar, and the force of it best understood. He explains *Lepton*, a mite, by *Quadrans*, a farthing, xii. 42. Lepton was the name of the lowest coin in Greek, and Quadrans in Latin. As very small brass coins are seldom current in foreign countries, and the *Quadrans* might pass only among the Romans themselves, he could not properly say, that the poor widow put a *Quadrans* into the Treasury; he says therefore, that *she threw in two* Lepta, *that is*, a Quadrans. And though this lowest of Roman coins was worth much more than two Lepta, the valuation was accurate enough for the design of giving some idea of the smallness of her gift. But for whom could this valuation be intended? The Greeks did not

[1] Polybius has the word Κεντυρίων, but with an explication of its meaning. Raphael. ib.

[2] Matth. xxvii. 65, 66. xxviii. 11.

[3] xxvii. 54.

[4] Raphelius, V. i. p. 425. on Mark xv. 29.

want

want to be told the value of a *Lepton*; nor does St. Luke, xxi. 2. explain it to them; and the rating of its worth by a *Quadrans* could make it clearer to none but the Romans. Professor Ward, in his LXII. Dissertation on the Sacred Scriptures, quotes a passage from the Life of Cicero by Plutarch, where it is said, *That the Romans called their very least brass coin a* Quadrans [1]: which observation had been needless, if the Greeks had generally understood what a *Quadrans* was.

2. §. But how then came St. Matthew to make use of it, v. 26. *Till thou hast paid the uttermost* Quadrans? As a publican he was a servant of the Roman empire [2]. His office therefore had required him to account with the general receivers in Roman coin; and both *Lepton* and *Quadrans* being names foreign to his own language, he retained that to which he had been most accustomed. From hence again we infer, *that the Greek of his Gospel was his own.* Another, translating it from the Hebrew, would have taken the word that was best known to the Greeks, and have said with St. Luke, *Till thou hast paid the uttermost* Lepton [3]. Once more: in the history of the Passion,

[1] Life of Cicero, V. iv. p. 471. Ed. Bryan.

[2] The cities of Decapolis belonged to the province of Syria, [Josephus, Life, Ch. lxv.] and were much intermixed with the tetrarchies of the Herodian family. [Plin. Nat. Hist. B. v. Ch. xvi.] Some of these cities had territories on both sides of the lake of Gennesareth, as Gadara and Hippos; which stood on the eastern side, but, as Josephus informs us, [Life, Ch. ix.] had villages on the confines of Tiberias and Scythopolis; which two cities were on the western side. The farmers therefore of the Roman customs, attentive to their own interests, and favoured by the empire, probably claimed the duties arising from the traffic of the whole lake, and had their custom houses dispersed around it. St. Matthew belonged to one of them near Capernaum. And it is not unlikely, that the Centurion mentioned, Matth. viii. 5. and Luke vii. 2. was stationed in that city (though the city was in the tetrarchy of Philip. Grot. on Matth. iv. 12.) for the protection of the publicans and their officers.

[3] xii. 59.

to

to *scourge* is called φραγελλῆν[1]. Now if St. Matthew composed his Gospel first in Hebrew, he would not affect to Latinize his own tongue, but would declare the indignity suffered by Christ as he had predicted it, which was certainly by a Hebrew word, when he said, *They shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and* to scourge, *and to crucify him*, xx. 19. And who else would think of recurring to the Latin, when his business was to turn it into Greek, if it afforded him a proper term? But μαστιγῶν is employed for *scourging*, as a Roman punishment, both by secular authors and by the Evangelists [2], as St. John in the corresponding history; and by St. Mark, St. Luke, and even St. Matthew [3], in reciting the prediction here mentioned. It seems then evident, that φραγελλώσας is not from the hand of a translator, but immediately of St. Matthew himself [4]; whose

[1] Matth. xxvii. 26.

[2] See Raphelius on Luke xviii. 33.

[3] John xix. 1. Mark x. 34. Luke xviii. 33. Matth. xx. 19.

[4] The observations, which I have incidentally made on the Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel as an original text, lying dispersed in this work, I will now in the end of them mention, to what they relate, and where they may be found. The first is a remark of Origen on Ἐπιέσιος, as a word made by the Evangelist himself. Disc. ii. Sect. ii. § 3. The second, an observation of Eusebius, ib. on a version from the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The third is on Gergesa, as an antique name of Gadara, which it is more likely St. Matthew should have used, than a translator. Disc. iii. Sect. v. § 9. The fourth is on another antique word, Canaanite, which a translator would have explained, as St. Mark has done, by Syro-phœnician. Disc. iv. Sect. i. § 4. The three next are on little grammatical ambiguities, which, if the Greek of this Gospel had been written after the publishing of St. Mark's, would have been rectified by it. Disc. iv. Sect. i. § 6. The last are the two which have been just made. To these particular observations I must add, that the expediency of an early Gospel was argued in Disc. iii. Sect. vi. And if on a view of this expediency St. Matthew did in fact compose a Gospel early, the same expediency must induce him to publish it, if not in Greek only, yet in Greek as well as Hebrew.

inter-

intercourse with the Romans had made a word, which the Greeks did not acknowledge, familiar to him; and who being less curious in a foreign language, was disposed to employ it here, rather than μαγιγὲν which he had used before, that he might relate what Pilate decreed as Pilate had expressed it.

3. §. I return to St. Mark, who, having followed St. Matthew in saying φραγελλώσας [1], then speaks of the *Prætorium* in a manner which is much to the purpose of the present question: *And the soldiers led him away into* the hall, *that is*, the Prætorium. Αὐλὴ and Prætorium, as here used, were synonymous terms in Greek and Latin, and denoted the palace of a governor or great man [2]. Now as it is beyond a doubt when he says, vii. 11. *Corban, that is, a gift.* vii. 34. *Ephphatha, that is, be opened*, that he meant to interpret *Corban* and *Ephphatha*; it seems as little doubtful, when he connects Αὐλὴ and *Prætorium* together in the same form, (a form often used by him for explanation [3]) that he meant to determine

[1] Mark xv. 15.

[2] Νῦν δὲ τὰ βασίλεια λέγουσιν αὐλὰς. Athenæus ap. Grot. in Matth. xxvi. 3. Id. in Act. xxiii. 35. Prætorium à prætore Romano, id est imperatore, nomen habet: sed, ut fieri solet, cœpit proferri latius ejus vocis usus ad omnes domos virorum illustrium. Vid. eundem in Philipp. i. 13. Poli Synops. in Marc. xv. 16.

[3] iii. 17. Βοανεργὲς ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς.
vii. 11. Κορβᾶν ὅ ἐστι δῶρον.
34. Ἐφφαθὰ ὅ ἐστι διανοίχθητι.
xii. 42. Λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης.
xv. 16. Ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον.
42. Παρασκευὴ ὅ ἐστι προσάββατον. Parasceve, or The preparation was a common name for Friday among the Jews. Yet St. Mark explains it; and so does St. Luke in his usual manner. *And that day was the preparation*, and the Sabbath drew on. xxiii. 54. St. Matthew calls it simply *The preparation.* xxvii. 62. And his words, *The next day that followed the preparation*, note the day of the week on which Christ was crucified, which he had not mentioned before, with greater propriety, than if, omitting the name of this day, he had told us, that the next day was the Sabbath.

the

the sense of Αὐλὴ. The explication therefore was intended for the Latins; otherwise he would have reversed it, and instead of, *They led him away into the* Αὐλη, *that is, the Prætorium*, would have said, *They led him away into the Prætorium, that is, the* Αὐλὴ. Thus surely the explication would have been disposed, wherever Greek was the predominant language: which was the case in all the eastern parts of the empire, and in Egypt.

These certainly are better proofs, that he composed his Gospel at Rome, than that he composed it in Latin, as a few authors have maintained [1], and that our present Greek is only a translation from his Latin text. "For what translator," as Dr. Mill justly asks [2], "would have rendered the Latin word "*speculator*" [or *speculator* [3]] "by Σπεκουλάτωρ, "which could so easily have been expressed in pro-"per Greek?" A like question might be put on the calling of a *centurion*, for which there was an authorised name, Κεντυρίων. And we might further ask, Would any translator place Ασσὸν and *Quadrans*, Αὐλὴ and *Prætorium*, as they now stand? that is, would he interpret his own version by the language from which he made it, and not rather, as his undertaking required, explain the terms of that language by his version?

The first authority alleged for this opinion is that of Pope Damasus, from the Life of St. Peter in the Liber Pontificalis. He probably never wrote the obscure passage which they refer to, nor indeed any part of that book, but agreed with his friend St. Jerom,

[1] Baronius, Bellarmine, Pagninus, Gaudentius, &c. See Glassii Philol. Sacra, p. 148. Pere Simon's Critical Hist. of the New Test. Part i. p. 93. English. Cornel. à Lapide in Marc. p. 574.

[2] Prolegom. p. 13. § cxi.

[3] Grotius and Wolfius on Mark vi. 27.

who

who says in an Epistle to him, "That without any "question the New Testament was composed in "Greek, the Gospel of the Apostle Matthew ex- "cepted [1]."

St. Mark attends to the Roman division of the day, in relating our Lord's prophecy to St. Peter:

xiv. 30. *Verily I say unto thee, that this day,* even in this night, *before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.*

The prediction was delivered before midnight, but fulfilled by St. Peter some time after it, probably between two and three in the morning. These were parts of one and the same day in Judea, but not at Rome, where a new day commenced at midnight, as with us. St. Mark therefore, to explain the meaning of *this day*, adds, *even in this night.*

I shall mention but one argument more from a note of Grotius on the following passage:

Mark xv. 21. *And they compel one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross.*

"Alexander and Rufus were living when Mark "wrote this account, and, if I am not deceived, at "Rome where he wrote it: so that he justly appeals "to their testimony, who could assure others of a "fact which they had heard their father relate. "Rufus is saluted by Paul among the Christians who "dwelt at Rome when he wrote his Epistle to the "Romans." Ch. xvi. 13.

[1] In Evangelistas ad Damasum Præfatio.

To this note of Grotius we may add, that though St. Matthew and St. Luke mention Simon the Cyrenian, they say nothing of his sons. It was not therefore merely because they were persons of note in the church, that St. Mark was so peculiar about them; for this had been a reason with St. Luke at least as well as him; but because they resided in the city where he published his Gospel.

SECT. V.

When St. Mark *published his Gospel.*

As St. Mark's Gospel was dictated by St. Peter, and published in Italy, might we not suppose him to have been there by himself, long enough to understand the state of the Roman church; and, returning into Asia, to have drawn up a Gospel in conjunction with St. Peter, which he carried to Rome, and there made public for the use of the church? If the learned will not hear of such an hypothesis, as not so consonant to primitive tradition; what is the earliest date that we can assign to this Gospel? in other words, *When may we reasonably imagine St. Peter to have been first at Rome?* This is a question which would soon be answered, if it was proposed to the modern church of Rome; for they maintain, that he came thither about the year of our Lord XLII, and in the first or second year of the reign of Claudius. But this is strenuously denied by learned Protestants; who think it evident, he had never been there, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, twelve years later, according to some; but sixteen, according to others. They further contend, That during the two years of this Apostle's confinement at

at Rome, St. Peter was not there. However, there is an interval of three years or more, in the former part of Nero's reign, between the date of the Epistle to the Romans and the time of St. Paul's first appearance at Rome, which this reasoning does not account for. We may therefore ask the question, with which bishop Pearson argues against Salmasius: "*What hinders but that Peter may have been at "Rome within the first five years of Nero*[1]?" And we may be induced to think, that he really did go thither, if we consider the state of the Roman church, and the juncture of affairs, about that time. For St. Paul writing to the Romans, says, Ch. i. 11. *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift:* which is interpreted of such a gift as an Apostle only could confer; and from thence it is concluded, that no Apostle had then been among them. But if the conclusion is just, we may subjoin as a proper corollary to it, that therefore the presence of an Apostle was much wanted by this growing church in the metropolis of the world. And since St. Paul himself, soon after he had declared so great desire of seeing them, was apprehended and imprisoned, without prospect of a speedy releasement; in these circumstances St. Peter might think himself powerfully called upon to supply the place of his brother Apostle, and to answer the design he had of visiting and establishing the church at Rome: which he might effect; continue there a year or two; superintend the writing of St. Mark's Gospel; and yet be departed before St. Paul's arrival. This first arrival of St. Paul at Rome, when he was brought prisoner thither, is placed by Dr. Cave in the year of our Lord LVII[2];

[1] Opera Posthuma, Dissertat. de serie et successione primor. Romæ Episcopor. p. 63. 4to, Lond. 1688.

[2] Historia Literaria, under the article of *St. Peter.*

but by bishop Pearson and others in the year LXI [1]. If we follow the former, we may suppose St. Mark's Gospel to have been published about the end of the year LVI; but if the latter, about the conclusion of the year LX.

The first five years of Nero, the celebrated Quinquennium Neronis, of which bishop Pearson speaks above, ended in October, A. D. LIX.

[1] Annales Paulini.

DISCOURSE THE SIXTH.

ON ST. LUKE.

SECT. I.

ST. LUKE *wrote for the Gentile converts.*

THE third Evangelist was St. Luke; the internal proofs of which have been given in comparing him with St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The comparison between him and St. Matthew, in Discourse iv. Sect. ii. gave occasion to show by several instances, that he wrote with an especial view to the converted Gentiles. I shall now more directly consider the same point.

1. §. And first, Let us attend to the *explications of scriptural or Jewish matters*, new to the Gentiles, which he has curiously wrought into the narration of his Gospel.

Ch. i. 8 — 10. An account of what happened to Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, is, in some degree, a description of the daily service of the Temple. The dignity and office of angels may be collected

collected from the 19th verse; and in ver. 35th we have a brief account of the *Holy Spirit: The* Holy Ghost *shall come upon thee, and* the power of the Highest *shall overshadow thee.* The *act* of the *Holy Spirit* here marks him as a *person;* and the *title* ascribed to him, *The power of the Highest*[1], is a character of *divinity.* Further on, ver. 59. we learn, that among the Jews circumcision was administered, and a name given, on the eighth day after birth.

Ch. ii. 23. We are told the reason of presenting their first-born male children in the Temple; and ver. 41. that the Passover was an annual feast held at Jerusalem.

Ch. iii. commences with an account of the governors of the several Jewish territories, at the time when John began his ministry: and concludes with the genealogy of Christ; which, though a mere catalogue of names, opened light to the new-converted pagans, where their greatest sages were in darkness. For it suggested,

First, That God was the immediate creator of man; of whose origination various sects of philosophers had formed the absurdest theories[2]:

Secondly, as St. Paul taught at Athens, That *God had made of one blood all nations of the earth.* Acts xvii. 26:

Thirdly, It showed for how many generations mankind had existed: which two last points were as obscure in the history of the Greeks, as the first, the

[1] See Luke xxii. 69. Acts viii. 10. and Grotius on the latter.
[2] Campbell's Necessity of Revelation, p. 320. 328.

original

original production of man, was in their theology [1]. Further, it invited them to Christ by a view of the fraternal connection between him and them, as having not only the same nature, but one common progenitor:

Lastly, It pointed out to them the order of birth of some illustrious persons mentioned in the subsequent parts of this Gospel, as Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and David.

The mode of tracing out this genealogy, as a learned man has observed [2], is that which was most used among the Gentiles, by ascending from the person whose lineage was given to the founder of his race.

We may remark in passing on, that it is probably the lineage of the blessed Virgin. It is indeed objected, "that it was never known nor customary "among the Jews to deduce the descent of families "through the female line." But this is a mistake. In the second chapter of the first of Chronicles, Jair is reckoned among the posterity of Judah: ver. 22. But because the grandfather of Jair, ver. 21. had married the daughter of Machir, of a noble house in the tribe of Manasses, ib. vii. 14. therefore the same Jair is called, Numb. xxxii. 41. the son of Manasses [3].

[1] Censorinus de die natali, C. xx. Si origo mundi in hominum notitiam venisset, inde exordium sumeremus. And again, Ch. xxi. Primum tempus [ab hominum principio ad Cataclysmum priorem] sive habuit initium sive semper fuit, certe quot annorum sit, non potest comprehendi.

[2] Genealogium ducendi modus à Luca adhibitus gentibus magis notus erat. Surenhusii Καταλλαγη, p 115. The pedigree of Leonidas, king of Sparta, is thus traced up to Hercules: Herodotus, B. vii. C. 204. See also Æneid, B. vii. 47—49.

[3] See likewise Judges xvii. 7. and Patrick on the place; Jer. xl. 8. and Lowth on the place.

So

So also, Ezra ii. 61. we find a family intitled *The children of Barzillai*, because one of their ancestors *took a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite*. And Josephus the historian mentions, in his own Life, his descent from the royal blood of the Asmonean family by a female, whom Matthias, one of his ancestors, married [1]. But if he designed this Life not for the Jews, but the Gentiles, so did St. Luke his Gospel. The objection therefore, if true, would be of no weight; since neither Greeks nor Romans had any such settled rule. Æneas in the Æneid speaks of himself and Evander as the progeny of the same ancestor, and lays a stress on the consanguinity which he deduces through females on both sides [2]. And though this is fable, yet certainly it is fable founded on acknowledged principles; according to which, Alexander the Great was considered as an Æacides, or descendant of Achilles by his mother Olympias [3].

In Ch. iv. is the history of the Temptation; and here the author of evil is exhibited as one, who neither is nor pretends to be independent: ver. 6. *And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them;* for that is delivered unto me, *and to whomsoever I will, I give it.* This lying boast of his great authority is still an acknowledgement of a Superior from whom he held it. And

[1] Life of Josephus, § 1.

[2] Dardanus, Iliacæ primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Graii perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
Advehitur Teucros: Electram maximus Atlas
Edidit, æthereos humero qui sustinet orbes.
Vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenes gelido conceptum vertice fudit.
At Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
Idem Atlas generat, cœli qui sidera tollit.
Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
His fretus, &c. Æn. L. viii. 134.

[3] See Plutarch, Life of Alexander, at the beginning.

as

as St. Luke has afterwards frequent occasion to speak of Satan, by mentioning him in verse 8, he enables his readers to understand, who is meant by this name.

In verse 15. of this chapter the word *Synagogue* first occurs; and the context shows, that it was a place of religious assembly on the Sabbath day, in which the Scriptures were read and explained to the people.

Here our blessed Lord is first introduced as a public preacher; and the nature of his office, and of his gracious errand to mankind, is immediately set before us in the words of Isaiah: *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath* anointed *me to* preach the Gospel *to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.* The Greek of which passage hints the reason, why he is called *Christ*, and his doctrine the *Gospel* [1].

Ver. 33. the healing of a demoniac is related. I have before noted [2], on whose account it stands foremost of the miraculous cures wrought by our Saviour. For the sake of the same persons the word *Demon*, which was equivocal among them, signifying a good as well as evil spirit, is limited to the scriptural notion by the epithet *unclean*. As it was understood in no other sense by the Jews, St. Matthew never uses this epithet to it. The malady is also marked with the most express characters of a real possession: to set which fact in a variety of lights, and satisfy the pagan world of the power of Christ over demons, St. Luke gives more instances of this than of any other species of his miracles.

[1] Ver. 18. Οὗ ἕνεκα ἘΧΡΙΣΕ με ἘΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ πτωχοῖς, &c.
[2] See Disc. iv. Sect. v. § 7.

Ch. v.

Ch. v. 17—21. *Scribes and Pharisees* are mentioned for the first time; and to show what the Jews meant by *Scribes*, they are previously intitled *Doctors of the Law* [1]. Some notices concerning the general character of the Pharisees are given soon after. Ver. 30. we have a specimen of their spiritual pride, in keeping men at a great distance whom they conceited to be less perfect than themselves; and another, ver. 33. in a display of their frequent fasts. Ch. vi. ver. 2. and 7. we have instances of their superstitions with regard to the Sabbath. Other instances of their usages and tenets are occasionally introduced, which prepare the reader for the severe censure passed on them by Christ in Ch. xi.

St. Luke may seem long, for his design, in speaking of the Pharisees: but other nations had their Pharisees such as he describes; in whom love of wealth and honours, superstitious zeal for a ritual law with neglect of the moral, vice under a garb of severity, conceit of wisdom or virtue, and contempt of others, were predominant. It was fit therefore, that the fatal tendency of these tempers should be known to all; and that the Gentile converts, observing how Christ himself had been treated in Judea, should be taught not to wonder, if his disciples and heavenly doctrine met with no better reception from men of similar characters among themselves.

The *Sadducees* are named only once; Ch. xx. 27. and then what was requisite is said of their opinions.

Though the sects of Pharisees and Sadducees were famous among the Jews, other nations knew little of them. St. Luke therefore was purposely silent about them, till he had an opportunity of throwing some light on their characters; as we may infer from an omission of their names in a text which otherwise closely follows St. Matthew's:

[1] Compare ver. 17. with ver. 21.

Matth.

Matth. iii. 7.	Luke iii. 7.
But when he saw many of the Pharisees *and* Sadducees *come to his baptism, he said unto them* [1], *O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?* &c.	*Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?* &c.

In Ch. ix. at the Transfiguration we find Moses and Elias appearing in glory, and conversing with Christ. But we were before apprized, that Moses was the *legislator* of the Jews, v. 14. and Elias their *great reformer*, i. 17. and a *prophet*, iv. 24, 25.

In ver. 52, 53. of the same chapter we have an example of the strong antipathy of the Jews and Samaritans. This document concerning the people of Palestine happily prepared strangers for the parable, in the next chapter, of the merciful Samaritan; who would not otherwise have felt the whole force and beauty of it.

I think it evident from these instances, without repeating others before observed [2], that St. Luke has with equal care and address given an exposition of things new or doubtful to the Gentiles, while he seems only to be carrying on the course of his narration.

2. §. He appears to have *omitted* several things with an eye to the same class of readers: as,

[1] *He said unto them*] That is, not only to the Pharisees and Sadducees, but also to the multitude described, ver. 5. as flocking to his baptism. St. Luke authorizes this interpretation of St. Matthew. See Raphelius on Matth. iii. 7. p. 188.

[2] See Disc. iv. Sect. ii. on Luke vii. 28. xi. 44. on ch. xxi. 20. xxii. 69. xxiv. 44, 45. &c.

1st. *An*

1st. *An appeal to the Mosaic law.*

This will be best seen by opposing his text to St. Matthew's :

Matth. vii. 12.	Luke vi. 31.
Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets.	*And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.*

Matth. xxiii. 23.	Luke xi. 42.
Ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cumin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, *judgement, mercy, and faith.*	*Ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgement and the love of God.*

As these passages stand in St. Matthew, we find the Jew instructed or judged from the Law; but in St. Luke the matter rests on the sole authority of Christ. None greater could be urged, and none so fitly urged to the Gentiles, till they had learned to separate between the parts of the Law from which they were free, and to which they owed obedience.

2dly. *A typical allusion to the History of the Old Testament.*

Our Lord had mentioned *the sign of the prophet Jonas;* first, As prefiguring his own death and resurrection on the third day; and secondly, As a warning to the Jews, who stood condemned by the conversion of the Ninevites. *The sign of Jonas* seems most important in the first view; but to understand it required a knowledge of his history. St. Luke therefore

fore mentions it only in the second, which his context explains: Luke xi. 30. 32. Compare Matth. xii. 39, 40.

3dly. *A circumstance not so interesting to them.*

St. Matthew and St. Mark inform us, that our Lord spake the prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish state on *the Mount of Olives*. And it is no wonder, that St. Matthew points out the place where he sat to open this scene of things to come; or that St. Mark, the amanuensis of St. Peter who was present, is yet more circumstantial, and adds, that *He sat over against the Temple*. The early Jewish believers, whom devotion led to the places which Christ had frequented, arriving at this spot, would meet the thought of his awful prediction in the prospect of the city, and splendor and magnificence of the temple; for *Olivet* commanded both [1]. But to strangers of the Gentiles, who did not know how the mount and city stood, and were not likely to visit either, this circumstance was not of such moment; and accordingly St. Luke makes no mention of it. See Ch. xxi. 7, 8. and compare Matth. xxiv. 3, 4. Mark xiii. 3, 4.

4thly. *The prophecies of the Old Testament which apply to Christ.*

This has been shown in the preceding Discourse, Sect. iii. on St. Mark.

[1] Ex hoc loco Hierosolyma tota oculis objicitur, ut situs, forma, ædificia, ambitus totus, et quæque ejusdem partes, distinctè ac particulariter internosci queant: præsertim mons Moriah, et Solomonis templum, ejusque arca spotiosa. Cotovici Itinerarium, p. 265.

3. §. He

3. §. He introduces many things unnoted by the other Evangelists, which encouraged the Gentiles to hearken to the Gospel, and, when their consciences were awakened by it, to turn to God in newness of life with a pleasing prospect of pardon and acceptance.

The parable of the publican praying in the temple [1]; the parable of the lost piece of silver [2] (subjoined to that of the lost sheep, which he tells more at large than St. Matthew;) the parable in the same chapter of the prodigal son returning; the visit of Christ to Zaccheus the publican [3]; and the pardon of the penitent thief on the cross [4]; are lively illustrations or examples of the benignity and goodness of God to repenting sinners.

And lest doubts should arise, whether any but the lost sheep of the house of Israel were interested in these things, others are intermixed with them which cannot be so limited. He recites a parable in praise of a merciful Samaritan [5]; he relates, that another Samaritan was healed of his leprosy, and commended for his faith and gratitude [6]; and when a village of this people proved rude and inhospitable, that the zeal of the two Apostles, who wished to consume them by fire from heaven, was reproved; and they were told, that *The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them* [7].

He has examples also of kindness and mercy shown to the Gentiles. Our Lord himself, in the first public discourse mentioned in this Gospel, takes notice, that such favours were vouchsafed to the

[1] xviii. 10. [2] xv. 8—10. [3] xix. 5.
[4] xxiii. 40—43. [5] x. 33. [6] xvii. 19.
[7] ix. 52—56.

widow

widow of Sarepta and Naaman the Syrian, both Gentiles, as were not done for any in like circumstances of the people of Israel [1]. And the prayer upon the Cross, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do* [2], is placed between the act of crucifying our Lord, and that of parting his raiment, which were both acts of the Roman soldiers; whom therefore this prayer must respect as much as any of his persecutors.

4. §. Let it be observed, how carefully and frequently St. Luke inculcates the duty of prayer and thanksgiving.

The admonition to pray always, xviii. 1. is repeated xxi. 36. Two parables which show the success of frequent and fervent prayer, xi. 5. xviii. 2. occur only in his Gospel; and so likewise several instances of the practice of Christ: as at his baptism, iii. 21. before he made choice of his Apostles, vi. 12. before he publicly declared to them, that he should be put to death, and rise again the third day, ix. 18—22. and at his Transfiguration, ix. 29. On which occasions St. Matthew and St. Mark leave us to conclude, as a thing of course, that our Lord was employed in prayer; but St. Luke is explicit concerning his devotions.

There are also a dozen instances of praising, blessing, or glorifying God, mentioned only by him. With these he begins early, and with an example of this kind he finishes.

Now certainly the adopted alien wanted to be taught these things, and reminded of them, much more than the native Israelite trained up in the dis-

[1] iv. 25—27. [2] xxiii. 34.

cipline

cipline of the temple. When therefore we find St. Luke acting as St. Paul did to the churches of the Gentiles, it is not unreasonable to believe, that he had the same sort of converts more immediately in view. St. Paul, in writing to the Hebrews, does not so much exhort Them to prayer and thanksgiving, as to the offering up of these spiritual sacrifices by a new and living way, through the Mediator of the new covenant [1]: but he earnestly recommends these duties to the Romans, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and the Thessalonians [2].

5. §. For a like reason St. Luke seems more solicitous than the other Evangelists, to instil just notions concerning the soul, and its state after death.

When he relates, ch. viii. that Christ restored the daughter of Jairus to life, he adds, ver. 55. that *Her spirit came again.* Upon which Grotius remarks, "That this was providently added by St. Luke to "the account of the other Evangelists, as an inti- "mation, that the human soul is not a temperament "of the body, or any thing that dies with it, but "somewhat subsisting by itself; which, after the "conclusion of this mortal life, is not in the same "place with the body: for this is taught in saying, "*It came again.*"

Ch. xvi. 9. we have these words of Christ:

I say unto you, make to yourselves friends of the Mammon *of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.*

Our Lord, in this and the following verses, was cautioning his hearers against the love and abuse of

[1] Heb. x. 19—22. xiii. 10—15.

[2] See Rom. xii. 12. Eph. vi. 18. Philipp. iv. 6. Col. iv. 2. 1 Thess. v. 17.

riches;

riches; in which being interrupted by the scorn of the Pharisees, he turned his discourse to them for a while, and having reproved them for hypocrisy and false pretences to sanctity, for disregard of the new and gracious dispensation of Heaven to returning sinners (which began with the preaching of John, and being witnessed by the law and prophets must have a full accomplishment), and for taking unjust advantages of the Mosaic institution, for which they made show of such zeal, to the gratifying of the lusts; he then resumed the former subject, and enforced it by an example, which shows the sad consequence of riches misapplied, and, with a reference to this verse in particular, points out, who are the friends that receive the faithful *into everlasting habitations*, and at what time they are thus befriended: it is, *when they fail*, that is, as soon as they die; for this is the natural and obvious meaning of the expression; the meaning that is illustrated by the case of Lazarus.

The story of the rich man and Lazarus is indeed a parable. But there is a wide difference between Æsopic fables, or such apologues as that of Jotham, and the parables of Christ. We find in these no imaginary beings introduced for the sake of a moral, but a perfect analogy throughout to nature and life. On such a principle all his other parables proceed. And till it is shown, why this singly should be composed on a plan of less dignity and gravity, we must believe it to be of a piece with the rest; that, with only so much embellishment as was necessary in building it up, it is grounded on the real constitution of things. But both superstructure and foundation are as ideal as the conference of the trees about choosing a king, unless it is true, that departed souls in their several mansions are sensible of happiness or misery.

Which doctrine is made still clearer by the history of the penitent thief on the cross[1]. His request to Christ was, *Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom*: and all that he asked had been liberally granted, if our Lord had answered, *Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt be with me in paradise.* But his answer is, *Verily I say unto thee,* to-day *thou shalt be with me in paradise.* What then is the import of *to-day*, but to crown the grant with an assurance of immediate bliss?

Some would join *to-day* with the preceding words, and read, *Verily I say unto thee to-day, Thou shalt be with me in paradise.* This Grotius notes as a very bad interpretation[3]: and there is a difficulty attending it, which as yet I have not seen surmounted, of giving the word any tolerable force, and making the sense better with it, than if it was away. Besides which, St. Luke is made to express himself in a matter of moment with an ambiguity, which he could so easily have avoided by inserting the particle Ὅτι, which is no more improper after Λέγω in Greek[4], than *That* is after *I say* in English. The sentence thus qualified would have been perfectly clear: *Verily I say unto thee to-day*, that *thou shalt be with me in paradise.* As St. Luke has not done this, I conclude he meant the words to be connected as the form of the sentence leads us to connect them.

[1] xxiii. 40—43.

[2] Latroni mox oranti, ut in regno cœlesti non gravaretur sui vel meminisse, paradisum eo die se præstiturum, quam non fuerat rogatus, pollicetur. Tatian. See Lardner's Credib. Vol. iii. p. 149.

[3] Pessime fecerunt qui hanc vocem aut cum λέγω conjunxerunt, quod aperte improbat Syrus, aut interpretati sunt Σημερον post resurrectionem. Grot. in loc.

[4] See the Greek of Matth. vi. 5. Where the best copies read, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμιν Ὅτι ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν.

To-day

To-day then being left to its proper and natural coherence, the speech of Christ is resolvable into two propositions: To-day *I shall be in paradise;* and, To-day *thou shalt be there.* But if the gates of paradise were to be opened to the blessed Soul of Christ, as soon as it was released from the body, but shut against this penitent, lying insensible till the last trumpet shall sound; *To-day* is plainly used with a surprising latitude, and in two senses; one of which is so figurative and disproportioned to the other, that it is hard to believe it was designed.

Nor would it mend the matter to suppose, that *To-day* is extended beyond its strict meaning with regard even to Christ: for that he himself did not enter paradise, if paradise is heaven, till after his resurrection. This will bring the two acceptations of the word very little nearer together. There is still such an immense disparity and distance between them, as the man could not possibly conceive in hearing, nor therefore the gracious speaker intend in saying, *To-day.* For, as one hath observed on another occasion, "There is no sophistry in the divine promises [1]."

Thus a plain convert of the Gentiles might reason on the case, without knowing the distinction, which the ancients of the Jewish first, and then of the Christian, church made between *paradise* and *heaven* [2]; and to which distinction St. Paul gives countenance, 2 Cor. xii. 2. 4. where he tells, that *He was caught up to the* third heaven; and again, that *He was caught up to* paradise [3]. He was caught up to the *third* heaven that he might contemplate that scene of supreme felicity, which awaits the just after the resurrection;

[1] Dean Young's Sermons, V. i. p. 438.

[2] See the learned and excellent note of Grotius on this verse of St. Luke.

[3] Δύο ἀποκαλύψεις μεγάλας ἑωρακέναι μηνύει, δὶς ἀναληφθεὶς ἐναργῶς. Methodius apud Photium. See Lardner's Credib. V. v. p. 269.

and he was caught up to *paradise*, that his mind might be contented with a view of their nearer consolations.

This is the exposition of Grotius; and it seems well founded: for St. Paul plainly speaks of two extatic visions, and of two places to which he was transported. Now *heaven* being the seat of the blessed after the resurrection, according to the doctrine of the New Testament; when can they repose in *paradise*, as by this place of St. Luke we find they do, but in the intermediate state?

But by whatever name we call the place of their rest, St. Luke elsewhere shows, that *They live to God* xx. 38. which necessarily includes the notion of real and immediate life, as appears by the same expression in St. Paul, Rom. vi. 10. and that they enjoy a degree of glory: for at the Transfiguration, both Moses and Elias appeared in glory, Luke ix. 31. Moses who died and was buried, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. Jos. i. 2. as well as Elias who was translated.

Such then is the doctrine which St. Luke is careful to inculcate concerning the state of the soul after death; a doctrine greatly wanted by those, whose minds had been possessed with the fables of their poets, or perplexed with the doubts of their philosophers.

SECT. II.

Where ST. LUKE *published his Gospel.*

1. §. It appears, that St. Luke designed his Gospel for the Gentiles: and the author's character, as well as the nature of the work, will not suffer us to think, that he published it in Judea, where an Apostle had written one before him. There are several signs of the contrary,

contrary, besides the explications of Jewish matters already noted.

St. Matthew, speaking of the Passover, says, *Ye know that after two days is* the Passover, xxvi. 2. This was the proper style for Judea. Yet St. Luke says, *Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh,* which is called the Passover, xxii. 1.

He relates, xxi. 37. that Christ went out and abode *in the mount which is called the Mount of Olives.* Both he and Josephus[1] might express themselves in that manner among the Greeks or Romans, but to have done it in Judea, where *Olivet* had been long famous, would have sounded almost as strange, as to have talked of *the city which is called Jerusalem.* Again: xxiii. 51. he calls *Arimathea,* where Joseph dwelt who begged the body of Jesus, *a city of the Jews.* And this I esteem another manifest sign, that he did not write in Jewish territories; in which he would have used a more distinguishing title, that might mark the province to which *Arimathea* belonged, or no title at all.

2. §. Some few of the ancients supposed him to have written at Alexandria in Egypt. But this opinion does not suit perfectly with the form in which he puts our Saviour's words to St Peter, xxii. 34. *The cock shall not crow* this day, *before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.* As midnight intervened between the prediction and the completion, the words were spoken in one day and fulfilled in another, according to the Egyptian division of days, which was the same with the Roman[2]. Had he therefore written in Egypt,

[1] Jewish War, B. v. C. ii. § 3.

[2] Sacerdotes Romani, et qui diem diffinière civilem, item Ægyptii et Hipparchus, à mediâ nocte in mediam. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. ii. C. lxxix. Ed. Hardouin.

probably

probably he would have determined the sense of *this day*, as St. Mark has in writing at Rome: Mark xiv. 30. *This day, even* in this night, *before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.*

Again he says, xxiii. 54. *And that day was the preparation*, "and the Sabbath drew on." Where a new day began at sunset, which was the case in Greece as well as Judea, these words accurately described the intended time of the evening; but where it commenced at midnight, as in Egypt, the description did not clearly convey its meaning to an unlearned reader. In such a place there had been the same reason as before, to follow St. Mark, who says in direct terms, xv. 42. *When the even was come.*

3. §. The more considerable authorities are in favour of Achaia. Whether the following observations are of any weight on the side of this opinion, the reader must judge. St. Matthew, xiv. 25. and St. Mark, vi. 48. xiii. 35. divide the night, as the Romans and at that time the Jews did, into four watches. St. Luke mentions only three; which was the division of the Greeks[1]. This accommodation to their custom, when, as appears by comparing Luke xii. 58. with Mark xiii. 35. he had an inducement to speak rather of four watches, may be reckoned among the presumptive arguments that he composed his Gospel among them.

St. Luke does not intermix foreign words, proper names excepted, like the other Evangelists. St. Matthew and St. Mark call the tax paid to the Romans Κῆνσος, which was indeed the precise name of it; yet he substitutes a Greek word [Φόρος] for it[2]. In relating

[1] See Hutchinson's note 4. p. 262. on Book iv. of Xenophon's Anabasis, ed. 4to.

[2] Compare Matth. xxii. 17. Mark xii. 14. with Luke xx. 22.

that

that the soldiers *compelled Simon the Cyrenian to bear the cross*, they say with great propriety, Ἀγγαρεύ-σι. He had the same occasion to say so too, but does not[1]; the word being formed from the Persic by the Asiatic Greeks, and, though it might be understood[2], not perhaps received in Achaia. *Rabbi*, so common in the other Gospels, is never found in his. The acclamation of *Hosanna* to Christ[3], and his address on the Cross to his heavenly Father, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*[4] are omitted. We read in St. Matthew and St. Mark, *When they were come to a place called* Golgotha, *that is to say, a place of a* Scull. But he leaves out *Golgotha*, and turns the meaning of it into a proper name, Κρανίον, which we translate, following the Latin, *When they were come to a place which is called* Calvary. His reserve in which instances may with probability be attributed to a desire of not giving offence, where it was not necessary, to the delicacy of the Greeks, who accounted the words barbarous.

4. §. He gives the *Greek* the precedence of the *Hebrew* and *Latin*, when he has occasion to mention them together: xxiii. 38. *And a superscription also was written over him, in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew.* This seems a precedence by the courtesy of the Evangelist: for St John names the *Hebrew* first, xix. 20.

The Evangelists all mention this superscription; but every one of them with some difference, except in the last words, *The King of the Jews:* which a late learned author urged as "a want of accuracy and exactness of truth[5]." The criticism were of little

[1] Compare Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. with Luke xxiii. 26.
[2] See Herodotus, B. viii. C. 98.
[3] Compare Matth. xxi. 9. Mark xi. 9. with Luke xix. 38.
[4] Compare Matth. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.
[5] Dr. Middleton,

moment,

moment, if the ground on which he raises it were sure; that there was one form of inscription in the three languages. But what if it varied in each? The supposition being as admissible as the contrary, let me be indulged in a digression on the probability of it.

We may reasonably suppose St. Matthew to have recited the Hebrew;

THIS IS
JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

And St. John the Greek:

JESUS THE NAZARENE THE KING OF THE JEWS.

If it should be asked, Why *The Nazarene* was omitted in the Hebrew, and we must assign a reason for Pilate's humour; perhaps we may thus account for it. He might be informed, that *Jesus* in Hebrew denoted *A Saviour*[2], and as it carried more appearance of such an appellative or general term by standing alone, he might choose, by dropping the epithet, *The Nazarene*, to leave the sense so ambiguous, that it might be thus understood:

THIS IS
A SAVIOUR THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Pilate, as little satisfied with the Jews as with himself on that day, meant the inscription, which was his own, as a dishonour to the nation; and thus set a momentous verity before them, with as much design of declaring it, as Caiaphas had of prophesying, *That Jesus should die for the people*[2]. The ambiguity not holding in Greek, *The Nazarene* might be there in-

[1] Pearson on the Creed, Art. ii. at the beginning.
[2] John xi 49—51.

serted

serted in scorn again of the Jews, by denominating their king from a city which they held in the utmost contempt [1].

Let us now view the Latin. It is not assuming much to suppose, that Pilate would not concern himself with Hebrew names, nor risk an impropriety in speaking or writing them. It was thought essential to the dignity of a Roman magistrate in the times of the republic not to speak but in Latin on public occasions [2]. Of which spirit Tiberius the emperor retained so much, that in an oration to the senate he apologized for using a Greek word; and once, when they were drawing up a decree, advised them to erase another that had been inserted in it [3]. And though the magistrates in general were then become more condescending to the Greeks, they retained this point of state with regard to other nations, whose languages they esteemed barbarous, and would give themselves no trouble of acquiring. Pilate indeed, according to St. Matthew, asked at our Lord's trial, *Whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?* And again, *What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?* But I judge this to be related as the interpreter by whom he spake delivered it in Hebrew [4]. For if the other Evangelists have given his exact words, he never pronounced the name of Jesus, but spake of him all along by a periphrasis: *Will ye that I release unto you* The king of the Jews? *What will ye then, that I shall do unto him whom ye call* The king of the Jews? Thus he acted in conference with the rulers, and then ordered a Latin inscription without mixture of foreign words, just as St. Mark repeats it:

[1] John i. 46. [2] Valerius Maximus, B. ii. C. ii. § 2.
[3] Sueton. in Tiberio, C 71. The two words were *Monopoly* and *Emblem*. [4] See Wolfius on Matth. xxvii. 2.

THE

THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Which is followed by St. Luke; only that he has brought down *This is* from above, as having a common reference to what stood under it:

THIS IS
THE KING OF THE JEWS.

It is very possible, that a better account may be given of the three forms of the inscription; but I think I am well founded in asserting, that there were variations in it, and that the shortest was the Latin.

5. §. To return to St. Luke. The remark, that he does not intermix foreign words, is not without exceptions. He has *Amen*, *Mammon*, and *Gehenna*. But it was necessary to retain them.

Amen is a word with which our Lord prefaced his solemn declarations, in a style proper to the Son of God. "The saints use it in supplication, or in assenting to the word of God: but no Prophet or Apostle ever said, *Amen, I say unto you.* This use of *Amen* is left to God and Christ; for it is the language of Him who avers by *Himself*[1]." It was

[1] Τὸ Ἀμὴν passim quidem à sanctis usurpatur quum optant, sed non quum asseverant. Nemo unquam prophetarum aut Apostolorum dixit, *Amen, dico vobis.* Soli Deo Christoque hoc relinquitur, qui ejus est qui per seipsum asseverat. Ludovicus De Dieu in Poole's Synopsis, on Matth. v. 18. Among those of the learned who dispute this doctrine of De Dieu is Nicolas Fuller, Miscell. Theol. B. i. ch. 2. who maintains that *Amen* signifies no more than Ναὶ, or Ἀληθῶς. Let us however observe what he himself says of it, in obviating an objection from St. Jerom's authority: "Cæterum hic nobis opponantur Hieronymi verba, quibus ait, *In Veteri Testamento Dei juramentum esse, Vivo Ego, dicit*

therefore to be kept in those places, where the Greek had no term to express the peculiar solemnity of it.

Mammon, or *Mamôna*, as he writes it, is found in ch. xvi. and three times in the compass of five verses: which reiteration of a word that was harsh to the ears of a Grecian would induce one to think, that he wished to make the sound excite an aversion for the thing. But whether he repeated it with this view or not, he had a good reason for employing it. For if *Mammon* meant only riches, yet in the sentence, *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, it is by a figure made a person and opposed to God: in which case it was preferable to the Greek word *Plutus*; because *Plutus* signified not only riches, but the god of riches, and might here seem to countenance a notion of the people, that such a being existed.

Gehenna is another Hebrew word found once in his Gospel, xii. 5. But *Tartarus*, the Greek term for Hell, had so many fabulous ideas associated with it, as to render it improper in speaking to converts from paganism.

6. §. I think we see an instance of his caution on this head in the history of the Transfiguration. St. Matthew and St. Mark say, that our Lord was *transfigured*, μετεμορφώθη. St. Luke, that *The fashion*

dicit Dominus; in Novo autem, Amen, Amen, dico vobis. Sed sensus est, recentem hanc Novi Testamenti formulam perinde valere ac antiquum illud Veteris juramentum, ejusque instar esse, et parem ad veritatem confirmandam vim locumque obtinere." Whether *Amen* hath the nature of an oath or not, enough surely is here granted to show, that it hath, sometimes at least, a significancy, which Ναὶ and Ἀληθῶς cannot reach; and that St. Luke had just reason for the substituting of this Hebrew instead of a Greek word on certain solemn occasions, as xxiii. 43.

of

of his countenance was altered[1]. Did he not express himself thus differently from them, that he might avoid the literal use of a term which entered into so many fictions of the Greeks? It is well known how much they abounded with stories of transmutations of form; which they not only reported but believed, if the censure is just which Pliny passes on them, "That the credulity of the "Greeks is surprising[2]." He is speaking more particularly of the Arcadians, who inhabited a part of Achaia. If this observation will hold, the first object of St. Luke's caution were the Achaians.

7. §. And on the foot of his reserve in using Hebrew words, the question, Whom he studied not to offend, whether the Greeks of Achaia or Alexandria, is easy to decide. Alexandria was planted by Alexander the Great with a colony of Macedonians, mixt with native and Persic Egyptians, and Hebrews. His countrymen talked the language neither of Attica nor Achaia. They brought with them a different idiom, which was probably the ground of that which is now called Hellenistic[3]: and their posterity became Egyptians in features, complexion, and tone of voice[4]. No such management therefore was required with regard to a people of this character, as might be expedient in indifferent matters towards the inhabitants of Greece; who "had a childish antipathy to

[1] Compare Matth. xvii. 2. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 29.

[2] Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas. Nat. Hist. B. viii. C. xxxiv.

[3] Quint. Curtius, B. vi. C. ix. and n. 53. of the notes of Pitiscus. See some instances of the Hellenistic language in Chishull's Remarks on the Monumentum Adulitanum, p. 86. note 16. See also Mr. Bowyer's Preface to his Conjectures on the New Testament, p. 26.

[4] See Lucian's Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί, p. 931. Ed. Paris, fol. 1615, cited by Mr. Bryant, Observations and Enquiries, &c. p. 19.

"every

" every foreign language; and were equally p eju-
" diced in favour of their own.—They were misled
" by the too great delicacy of their ear; and could
" not bear any term which appeared to them barba-
" rous and uncouth [1]."

8. §. It was said of St. Luke by the ancients, " That he taught the Gospel which Paul preached;" and Critics remark, that there is often a great affinity in their phrases: of which the account given by them of the institution of the Lord's Supper has been frequently brought as an example. A sentence is quoted as Scripture, 1 Tim. v. 18. *The labourer is worthy of his reward*, which we no where meet with precisely in these words, except Luke x. 7. The language of the precept in the next verse, *Eat such things as are set before you*, is the same with that in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, x. 27. *Whatsoever is set before you, eat.* Another instance of agreement in language is produced by Grotius on Luke xxi. 34. compared with 1 Thess. v. 3. And some words which are common to St. Paul and St. Luke, either do not occur in other writers of the New Testament, or not in the same sense. Two such at least, παρακολουθέω, in the notion of *understanding perfectly* [2], and κατηχέω in that of *instructing by word of mouth* [3], appear in the very outset of St. Luke's Gospel.

But the ancients, I presume, said this of him in a higher sense, than that he followed his master's diction; and meant, that he drew the knowledge he

[1] Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, V. i. p. 167.

[2] Compare Luke i. 3. with 1 Tim. iv. 6. 2 Tim. iii. 10.

[3] Luke i. 4. Act. xviii. 35. xxi. 21. Compare Rom. ii. 18. 1 Cor. xiv. 19. Gal. vi. 6. Πληροφορεῖσθαι, another word of St. Luke and St. Paul, has probably the same meaning, Luke i. 1. and 2 Tim. iv. 17.

had

had of evangelical facts as well as doctrines, in the first instance, from the sources of St. Paul's illumination; which opinion receives some countenance from the manner in which he speaks of himself in his Preface: of which notice will be presently taken.

SECT. III.

Review of the argument concerning the order of the Gospels.

1. §. The argument concerning the order of three of the Gospels being now finished, let us take a summary review of it.

It was concluded in Discourse iii. Sect. v. from the comparisons and reasonings of the three former sections, *that the Evangelists in succession had seen each antecedent Gospel.* And though the conclusion, from instances of their great agreement, rested on solid grounds, as it then stood; yet the course of future comparisons yielded fresh examples of this agreement: and when the peculiar design of each Gospel was seen, we were furnished with principles of accounting for little variations; which are generally such, as an Evangelist would be led to make by the very nature of his plan, though he wrote with another Gospel before him, and meant to follow it. Thus the premises were strengthened by a supply of similar examples, and the inference guarded against exception from the differences found in some of them. And as a peculiarity of style and manner, as well as of design, is visible in the general tenor of the several Gospels, the argument from their entire concurrence in particular places is the more conclusive.

For the purpose of determining their order, three positions were established in Discourse iii. Sect. vi. and it was inferred, chiefly though not solely, from them,

them, in Discourse iv. Sect. i. and ii. *That St. Matthew published a Gospel before St. Mark and St. Luke.*

This was further evinced by showing,

First, In Discourse iv. Sect. iii. from considerations which stand by themselves, without leaning on any previous hypothesis, *That he wrote very early:*

Secondly, In the same Discourse, Sect. v. by more direct evidence than had hitherto been given, *That he wrote for the Hebrews, and in Judea.*

The order of St. Mark and St. Luke came next under examination. And though it appears, that St. Mark did not publish his Gospel very soon [1], yet his priority to St. Luke was determined in Discourse v. Sect. i. chiefly by comparing them with regard to *perspicuity* and *explanation;* to which both being attentive, we might reasonably conclude, that He, in whom these virtues of narration are most perfect, was the later writer.

And we may consider this matter as confirmed in the first part of Discourse vi by other examples of St. Luke's great attention to the article of explaining.

Some of the facts to which the three positions of Discourse iii. Sect. vi. apply, are further ascertained in places subsequent to Discourse iv. and add weight to the preceding arguments, *That St. Matthew was the first of the Evangelists.* For it is confirmed in Discourse v. Sect. iii. *That St. Mark did not write simply for the Hebrews;* in Discourse vi. Sect. i. *That St. Luke wrote especially for the Gentiles;* and in the two same Discourses, *That both published their Gospels at a distance from Judea.* It hath been shown also in repeated instances, *That*

[1] See Mark xvi. 20. and the conclusion of Disc. iv. Sect. iv.

they

they so express themselves, as to enlarge the sense of precepts or doctrines, which the letter of St. Matthew seems to confine to the house of Israel.

In treating the several questions of these Discourses, if some arguments are set down which appear of small value singly, yet the collective sum of them, with the aids which different parts reciprocally lend to each other, amounts, I conceive, to a proof which may be deemed a moral certainty, that the order of the Gospels, and the main of the articles here asserted, are true.

2. §. The progress in planting the Christian faith was from a church purely of the circumcision, Samaritans included, to a mixt community; and from thence to distinct churches of the Gentiles. And there is a strong presumption, that the Gospels were published successively, as they were wanted by the churches to whose use they were immediately adapted. But St. Matthew wrote for the first. St. Mark for the second, and St. Luke for the third settlement of the faith. This view of things therefore presents us with the order in which the Gospels have all along been disposed, and which I have endeavoured to establish.

Some objections which nearly affect a great part of the reasoning on this subject shall next be considered.

SECT. IV.

Observations on St. Luke's *Preface.*

1. §. The learned moderns who contend, that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were either not extant or not known to St. Luke when he wrote, lay great stress on the *Preface* to his Gospel, which they esteem decisive in their favour. They argue from it,

That

That St. Luke takes no notice of St. Matthew and St. Mark; since he cannot be supposed either to speak of only *two* Evangelists, as *many*; or to include them in the number of these *many*, of whom he speaks with little approbation, if not with some censure. But, say they, had he read the Gospels in question, he would not only have taken notice, but made particular and honourable mention of them.

It is further asserted by some, That he would have written no Gospel himself, had those of St. Matthew and St. Mark been already published and in his hands [1].

It is easily seen, that in this reasoning, what St. Luke would have said, or how he would have acted under certain circumstances, is mere matter of opinion, and taken for granted.

2. §. But let us hear and consider his own words.

Luke, Chap. i.

1. *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us,*

2. *Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word;*

3. *It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus,*

4. *That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.*

[1] See Lardner's Supplement, V. i. p. 85.

Here are a few terms of the meaning of which, though not very difficult, it may be proper to give a short explication.

Ver. 1. "*Have taken in hand to set forth,*" Ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι. This phrase hath been shown by able critics, to mean much the same as if it had been simply said, *Have composed,* and to be as applicable to works deserving praise as censure [1]. Origen indeed suspected, that it here implied a censure; but the manner in which he speaks, is a proof, that he thought it dubious [2].

Ver. 2. "*Even as they delivered them unto us,*" Καθὼς παρέδοσαν, *Sicut Tradiderunt* : Vulgate. This may signify, what the Apostles had delivered in *writing* as well as by *word* of mouth; for Παράδοσις comprehends both. It is so used by St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 15; and by Greek ecclesiastical authors [3]. The same latitude has *Traditio* in Latin writers [4]. Accordingly Grotius in a short note on the words thus paraphrases them: "*By word of mouth as the other* "*Apostles, or by writing as Matthew.*"

Ib. "*Who from the beginning were eye-witnesses.*" *From the beginning* has the same sense here, as

[1] Grotius, Casaubon, Alex. Morus. See Wolfius on the place; Raphelius on the same; and Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Lib. iv. C. v. § iv.

[2] ΤΑΧΑ δὲ καὶ τὸ ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΝ λελησθῦαν ἔχει κατηγορίαν τῶν χωρὶς χαρίσματος ἐληλύθοτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Proem on Luke from a MS. published by Mr. Simon, in Lardner's Credib. V. iii. p. 318.

[3] See several instances collected by Suicer under the word Παράδοσις. V. ii. p. 577.

[4] Scias nos ab Evangelicis et Apostolicis *traditionibus* non recedere. Cyprian. Epist. iv. Ed. Fell. Illorum autem [scil. sacrorum scriptorum] *traditio,* quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota consentit, et ideo persuadet, quia constanti ratione suffulta est. Lactantii Institut. L. v. C. iii.

John

John xv. 27. "*Ye have been with me from the beginning;*" and means, From the beginning of Christ's public ministry and preaching.

Ver. 3. "*From the very first,*" Ἄνωθεν. This denotes an earlier time, commencing before the Incarnation.

Ib. "*Most excellent,*" Κράτιστος. This was a title then given to persons of dignity or in high office. From whence it hath been probably inferred, that Theophilus was then, or had been, a public magistrate; and was therefore a converted Gentile.

Ver. 4. "*Wherein thou hast been instructed.*" The Greek word Κατηχήθης means to be instructed by word of mouth [1].

3. §. This being premised, I observe,

That St. Luke in this *introduction* speaks of two orders of men, who gave an account of the life and doctrine of Christ. *The first* in dignity are the *Eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*; that is, the twelve Apostles, who delivered to others what they themselves had seen and heard. But this delivery, according to the extent of the word Παράδοσις, might be written as well as oral. It may therefore comprehend the Gospel of St. Matthew, and I add, that of St. Mark, as a work of Apostolical authority, and dictated by St. Peter.

The second and inferior order here noted are they who had preceded St. Luke in committing to writing what they had learned from the Apostles. And if those interpreters were in the right, who suppose

[1] Fabricius in the place lately referred to; Suicer under the word Κατηχέω. No. 1, 2.

him to intimate, that these many writers were unsuccessful in their attempts, no consequence would follow with regard to St. Matthew and St. Mark, but that the first verse of his Preface has no reference to them; which, on this or any other interpretation, is readily allowed. *They* come under another predicament, as authors of the higher order. However, St. Luke does not seem to censure but commend these many writers whom he distinguishes from the Apostles. He mentions them as having treated of those things which are most surely believed among us, Even as *they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word.* And what could he say more in praise of their fidelity? He likewise in some sort classes himself with them, and justifies his own undertaking by their example, in saying, *It seemed good to me* Also[1]. Had he judged them to have miscarried, he would rather have said, *It seemed good to me* Therefore to treat of this subject.

4. §. Yet, no doubt, there was one material difference between Him and them: that they wrote not by any special call, but from ordinary motives of piety and zeal for the cause of Christ. Another difference between them seems to be marked by St. Luke: for he speaks of them as relating what they had learned from the eye-witnesses. But he does not say this of himself, but "*That he had perfect understanding of* "*all things from the very first.*" And perhaps we may not be very far wide of his intention, if we suppose this change of style to suggest, that though he had conversed familiarly with the eye-witnesses, and in composing his Gospel did not refuse the assistance of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's; yet he was principally indebted for this perfect understanding to St. Paul,

[1] Quorum laudatissimo exemplo incitatus ipse quoque voluerit hoc aggredi. Fabricius ubi supra. So also Lightfoot in his Harmony.

who

who received his knowledge of the evangelical history and doctrines by immediate revelation from Heaven.

5. §. Thus circumstanced, with what view or in what light could St. Luke make separate and special mention of St. Matthew and St. Mark?

He could not name them in particular, as vouchers for the truth of his Gospel: for besides that he relates in it many things for which he has no warranty from them, this had been to *narrow*, not *widen* and strengthen, the foundations of its authority; which was built on the inspired knowledge of St. Paul, added to the testimony of the eye-witnesses in general.

He could not allege their example as a justification of his undertaking. For put the name of Peter for Mark, and consider how the argument would proceed: "Whereas Matthew and Peter, eye-witnesses "and ministers of the word, have composed histories "of Christ, it seemed good to me also, who was no "eye-witness or immediate minister of the word, to "do the same." These things we see do not cohere. The justification of himself by example, which his modesty inclined him to make, rests on another footing.

This was not a place to make an encomium on their Gospels. For the question naturally connected with this encomium, *Why then he wrote after them*, must have engaged him in so full and distinct an account of his design, as was not suited to the studied brevity of his introduction, perhaps not to the character of an inspired writer. And it was so delicate a task to point out the want of another Gospel, and to show in what manner he had supplied this want; that it was better the reader should discover, than the Evangelist declare, more than he hath said.

There

There was therefore no need, nor any proper opportunity, of making mention of St. Matthew and St. Mark in this Preface.

But setting these considerations aside, will it follow from not naming them, that he knew nothing of their Gospels? We cannot doubt but that he had seen some of St. Paul's Epistles which were sent to different churches before his arrival at Rome. Yet although these Epistles were inspired writings, and the author of them is the chief and almost only subject of the latter half of the Acts of the Apostles, St. Luke takes no notice of them, nor gives the least hint that they were written. Why then is his silence an argument more in one case than the other? or than the silence of St. John concerning the three former Gospels, which he is allowed to have seen? St. John no where *declares*, he only *signifies*, that he had seen them; and this St. Luke hath as clearly done with regard to St. Matthew and St Mark, by the manner in which his Gospel is composed. And if we require of him a testimony to their truth; what greater could he give, than by always agreeing with their narrations, and often copying their words?

6. §. Let us now consider, what reply this same *Preface* will enable us to make to the objection, That St. Luke would have written no Gospel himself, if he had seen the other two.

He distinctly notes two points of time from which an evangelical history might commence. One is, *From the beginning of the word*, or of our Lord's public ministry: the other, *From the very first*, that is, from the events preparatory and relating to the Incarnation. *The many writers*, as is evident from the second verse, had deduced their accounts only from the lower period. And therefore the silence of others, and the perfect

perfect understanding which he had of the things belonging to this higher point of time, are assigned as one reason, why it seemed good to him also to compose a Gospel.

A second reason may be deduced from the manner in which Theophilus and others had received a part of their evangelical knowledge; it had been delivered to them only by the preaching of the word. But this part was of too much importance to be trusted to memory and oral tradition; which might lose or alter some things, and confound the order of others. St. Luke therefore thought proper to commit them to writing, in a regular and continued history; that Theophilus, and they who were in the same situation, might have a permanent and connected view of facts and doctrines, which they had heard by parts and on different occasions.

Another reason is implied in the *Dedication* of his work to one of the Gentile converts, that he wrote for Their instruction.

7. §. On the ground of these reasons the propriety of a *third Gospel* seems to stand secure.

The *first* reason shows, since St. Mark, in common with the many writers, had opened his history at the lower æra, that another, who had the requisite qualifications, might fitly and wisely resume the subject on a more extensive plan.

The *second* justifies the writing after St. Matthew; who had not recorded all that was worthy to be known. And it being impossible he should do it in so short a work, it was extremely useful to the church, without detracting from the excellence of his labours, that there should be a review of the subject, containing

ing many interesting particulars that he had omitted; and of which some concerned that earlier period, where his Gospel began.

But in this justification the *third* reason, implied in the Dedication to Theophilus, must be taken into the account. St. Matthew had composed his Gospel with an immediate view to those who first wanted one. But when the Gentiles flowed into the church, it was highly expedient that another should be written with such reference to Them as his bore to the Jews. Such a work Theophilus would naturally desire, and might desire it consistently with the greatest regard and honour for St. Matthew. With equal respect for him might St. Luke comply with the request of his *noble* Pupil, and publish a work, for which not only he would give him thanks, but all the churches of the Gentiles: to whom the other Gospels did not become less edifying by a new testimony to their truth.

And now I think it may be safely affirmed, that nothing said or intimated in St. Luke's Preface militates against the proofs, that he was subsequent to St. Matthew and St. Mark, and was acquainted with their Gospels.

8. §. The histories of Christ which he alludes to, however piously intended or faithfully executed, were obscured by the brightness of the four Gospels, and quickly vanished before them. But in the loss of them, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, there perished none of the canonical Scriptures, but only the works of men [1]. What titles they bore, it seems impossible now to determine. But if I have rightly interpreted what St. Luke says of them, it is certain they cannot have been any of the supposititious Gospels, that were

[1] Harmony of the Four Gospels, Part i. V. i. p. 392. fol.

imputed

imputed to Apostles or Apostolical men; of which sort there were many. The memory and traces of these, which still subsist, are monuments of the care and vigilance of the Christian church, in rejecting from the code of holy Scripture what did not belong to it. And the titles which they assumed may serve to discriminate the measures that are pursued by Verity and Forgery. St. Mark and St. Luke published Gospels in their *own* names: for they knew that the truth would speak for their works, and recommend them to the faithful. But these men sought to sanctify their fables by ascribing them to St. Peter, St. Thomas, St. Andrew, or other venerable names of the highest dignity in the church.

DISCOURSE THE SEVENTH.

ON ST. JOHN.

SECT. I.

The design of St. John's *Gospel.*

THE last Evangelist was St. John; who had seen the former Gospels, and bore testimony to the truth of them by composing his own with a manifest reference to them. For he does not write a professed history of our Lord's public ministry, but a supplement to the authentic histories of it already published: the notoriety of which histories is supposed in his Gospel; as it would otherwise be imperfect, and obscure in many places.

This may be exemplified from the following passage:

iv. 43, 44. *Now after two days he departed thence, and went into Galilee. For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.*

He had said, ver. 3. that our Lord *left Judea, and departed again into Galilee;* and having told what happened in passing thither through Samaria, subjoins the words that have been cited. Without other helps than we have from the passage itself we should naturally

naturally conclude, that he considered no part of Galilee as our Lord's country; but rather Judea, in which he had been born. But this is not his meaning. He had shown in the beginning of the chapter what was Christ's motive for quitting Judea, and is here assigning the reason why in returning to Galilee he preferred one part of it to another. He passed by his own country, and proceeded on to Cana: *for Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.* Nazareth, where his relations lived, and in which he himself had been brought up, was reputed his own country [1]. But this fact, the knowledge of which is requisite to a clear understanding of the place before us, St. John has no where directly told. He supposes his reader to have learnt it from the preceding Evangelists [2], who acquaint us with it, and apply this observation of our Lord to that city. To them therefore he tacitly refers.

The other Evangelists begin their histories of our Lord's public ministry at this æra of his return into Galilee; of which return St. John takes notice no less than three times in the course of this fourth chapter;

[1] Matth. xiii. 54. Mark vi. 1. Luke iv. 23, 24.

[2] Two instances to this purpose are noted by Erasmus Schmidius on John xviii. 32, 33. *That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die.* This saying is recorded Matth. xx. 19. *They shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him:* but it has not been mentioned by St. John. Ib. 33. *Pilate said unto him, Art thou the king of the Jews?* The question respects an accusation brought against our Lord by the Jewish rulers, of which St. John has not taken notice: they accused him of saying, *That he himself is Christ a king.* Luke xxiii. 2. Again: John xx. 1. *And seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.* St. John has no where made mention, that a stone had been placed at the entrance of the sepulchre; as neither St. Luke. But it is mentioned by St. Matthew, xxvii. 60. and by St. Mark, xv. 46. On these passages Schmidius observes, that the Evangelists, and St. John in particular, have respect to the Evangelists who had written before them.

and

and thus he signifies a coincidence of his Gospel with their's, at a memorable point of time; but having done this, he goes on again with a different train of events.

He gives no account of the circumstances of Christ's nativity, of the place of his birth, of his baptism, temptation in the wilderness, and transfiguration on the mount. He mentions no precepts, parables, or prophecies, which the other Evangelists have related. The recording of one miracle in common with them, that of feeding five thousand in the desert of Bethsaida, [vi. 1—14.] is, strictly speaking, the single concurrence of his narration with their's till within six days of the last passover.

He says little of the life and fate of John the Baptist. He does not mention the calling or mission of the Apostles, nor give a list of their names, nor relate the institution of the Lord's Supper. It was necessary to his readers to know some of these things, and edifying to know them all. Why then has he omitted them and other interesting facts, or only alluded to them? The reason is plain. Just accounts of them had been published, and were in the hands of the faithful when he wrote. And his conduct in this case is an incontestible proof, that he had not only seen but approved the foregoing Gospels as faithful and true histories, and partly composed his own as supplemental to them.

2. §. But this, as I have said, was but a secondary part of his design, and he had a higher point in view. It was become needful to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints[1]: and he alone, probably, was

[1] Is cum esset in Asia, et jam tum hæreticorum semina pullularent, Cerinthi, Ebionis, et cæterorum qui negant Christum in carne venisse; quos et ipse in Epistola sua Antichristos vocat; et Apostolus

remaining of the sacred college of Apostles, to undertake the work with the authority of an inspired writer. He therefore asserted the Godhead of the Word, the Almighty and Eternal Word, by whom all things were made, and without whom not any thing was made that was made; the Word that was made flesh and dwelt among us [1]; whom God sent into the world, that the world through him might be saved [2]. And St. John teaches throughout his whole Gospel not only the beneficent extent, but the necessity to our happiness, of the offices sustained by the Son of God; as the Author of salvation, by feeding us with the bread of life in his heavenly instructions [3], and by giving his flesh, upon the cross, for the life of the world [4]; as the Way, and the Truth, and the Life, without whom no man cometh to the Father [5]; as the Sender of the Holy Spirit, to teach and illuminate the Apostles [6], to sanctify the faithful [7], to dwell in them [8], and abide with them for ever [9]; as the vivifying Cause of their resurrection [10], whose voice all that are in their graves shall hear and come forth [11]; and as the Giver of eternal life to as many as hear and obey him [12].

St. John has marked out a direct line of truth, by which the humble and devout Christian may walk securely, without attending to the by-ways of error, which are endless. But since a doctrine, when the sense of it is controverted, may often be ascertained by a view of the tenets to which it is opposed, it may be useful to some to inquire, what were the imagi-

Apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit; coactus est ab omnibus pæne tunc Asiæ episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus, de divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere. Hieron. Prooem. in Comment. super Matthæum.

[1] C. i. 1—14. [2] iii. 17. [3] vi. 26—33.
[4] ib. 51. [5] xiv. 6. [6] xiv. 16, 17.
[7] vii. 38, 39. [8] xiv. 17. [9] ib. 16.
[10] xi. 25. [11] v. 28, 29. [12] x. 27, 28.

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nations of the Eastern theology, against which this Gospel did more immediately militate. Such persons may consult Irenæus, B. iii. Chap. xi. and the learned moderns who have given some account of that theology [1], or have considered it as refuted by the Apostle [2].

SECT. II.

When St. John *published his Gospel.*

The moderns are much divided in opinion concerning the time in which St. John published his Gospel. Many think he did it late in life; others, before the destruction of Jerusalem.

1. §. As far as I can perceive, the following passage is the only internal evidence for the earlier date, that merits any regard:

John v. 2. *Now there* is *at Jerusalem by the sheep-market a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*

It is argued from these words, that Jerusalem was standing when they were written. But it may be answered, that at whatever time St. John said this, the expression was proper, if Bethesda was remaining; and there is great likelihood that it escaped the general devastation. For when Titus Vespasian ordered

[1] Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. B. i. Part ii. Chap. i. de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum, Sæc. i. Sect lx. &c.—Dissertat. ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes, V. i. Disscrt. iii. p. 221.

[2] See Bull's Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, C. ii. Waterland's Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the authors to whom he refers, p. 250. &c. Michaelis' Introductory Lectures, p. 240. Dr. Owen's Observations, p. 87. &c.

the

the city to be demolished, he let some things continue for the benefit of the garrison that was to abide there[1]; and he would naturally leave this bathing place, fitted up with recesses or porticos for shade and shelter, that he might not deprive the soldiers of a healthful refreshment very grateful to them; and to which he paid such attention, that he soon after erected magnificent baths at Rome for public convenience[2]. Now since St. John's proposition may simply regard Bethesda[3], we cannot be sure that it looks further, or has any view to the state of Jerusalem.

The argument therefore from this passage seems inconclusive; and so do some proofs which are alleged for the later date.

2. §. It is urged, that St. John wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, because he does not mention the prophecies relating to it. But this will appear a very ambiguous argument to those who consider, how rarely he treads in the steps of the other Evangelists. He may indeed omit these predictions, lest he should seem to prophesy after the event. But he may also have done it pursuant to the method which he observes in most cases, of passing over what was already recorded.

It is said again, that he does not follow the Jewish computation of the hours of the day, as the other Evangelists have done, but adopts that which was in use among the Romans; because, when he wrote,

[1] Josephus, Jewish War, B. vii. C. 1. § 1.

[2] Amphitheatro dedicato, Thermisque juxta celeriter extructis. Sueton. in Vita Titi Vespasiani, C. vii.

[3] Hasselquist calls what is now shown for Bethesda, An old square and formerly magnificent pool and cistern, p. 134. Maundrell speaks doubtfully of these ruins, p. 107.

the

the polity of the Jews was at an end, and the whole nation dispersed.

On whatever side we view this reasoning we shall find it deficient. St. Mark and St. Luke did indeed count the hours after the Jewish manner; but if they wrote in countries which used the same manner, we have no proof that they followed it, because it was Jewish. On the other hand, if St. John differ from them in this article, he cannot agree with the Romans; for the Roman and Jewish hours were precisely the same.

3. §. However I think we may collect from several circumstances, that he wrote a good while later than any other Evangelist, and after the destruction of Jerusalem.

His Gospel, as was observed, supposes the existence of the others, and must suppose, not only that they were in being, but that they were spread abroad, and well known throughout the church: which could not then be effected so expeditiously as it may at present.

4. §. He is not so reserved as St. Mark and St. Luke in appealing to the Law and the Prophets, but makes his own references to them. In chap. xii. he cites Zechariah once, and Isaiah twice. And in the history of the Passion, ch. xix. he applies the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets to Christ. This difference between Evangelists, who wrote in great measure for readers of the same kind, is a strong presumption, that St. John's Gospel followed St. Mark's and St. Luke's at such a distance of time, that the Gentile converts were become more acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and better able to understand the force of reasonings from them.

5. §. He takes notice of three Passovers; and speaks of each, on the first mention of it, as *the Passover of the Jews* [1].

This seems to have been said to distinguish it from the *Christian* Passover. But if so, it must have been said, when the one was become of consequence enough to be opposed to the other; which probably was late in St. John's days. The earliest believers were perpetually celebrating the death and resurrection of our Lord. An anniversary commemoration of them grew into repute and note by degrees, and as a feast of Christian devotion, not of Apostolical precept [2]. Else, it is most likely, there had been an uniformity in the time of keeping it.

6. §. When St. Matthew speaks of crossing the lake of Galilee, he terms it, Going *to the other side*, Εἰς τὸ πέραν [3]. and so does St. Mark, with one exception only [4]: but St. John says, *To the other side* of the sea [5]. Whence this change of style from that of his Galilean brethren? Was it, that length of years and length of absence from his native country had corrected a phrase, which was habitual to St. Matthew, and still familiar to St. Peter, when St. Mark's Gospel was composed?

They call this lake *the sea of* Galilee; He, *the sea of* Tiberias [6]. He wrote therefore when the new name had prevailed over the ancient; and when the latter was growing or even grown into disuse [7]: for

[1] Ch. ii. 13. vi. 4. xi. 55.

[2] Suicer in the word Πάσχα, ii. 2, 3. p. 623.

[3] Matth. viii. 18. 28. xiv. 22. xvi. 5. Mark iv. 35. v. 21. vi. 45. viii. 13.

[4] v. i.

[5] John vi. 1. 17.

[6] John vi. 1. xxi. 1.

[7] Josephus calls it, The lake of Tiberias: Jewish War, iv. 8. § 2. iii. 3. § 5. but commonly, The lake of Gennesar or Gennesareth. See Sermon, p. 11. note 5.

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he explains what is meant, Ch. vi. 1. *After these things Jesus went over the sea of* Galilee, *which is the sea of* Tiberias.

7. §. In his last chapter, ver. 18. he mentions a prediction of our Lord concerning St. Peter: *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.* Which words foreshowed plainly, that St. Peter should suffer death as a follower of Christ, but did not declare certainly what death it should be. Yet St. John in the next verse seems to speak of the death of St. Peter, and the nature of his death, as well known to those, to whom he relates the prediction: *This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God.*

This is generally admitted as evidence, that St. John's Gospel was published after the death of St. Peter. I think we may infer from the next paragraph, that it was published after the destruction of Jerusalem.

For St. John proceeds immediately to recite a short conversation concerning himself, between St. Peter and our Lord, and in what sense it was understood by the brethren:

Peter seeing him, saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die.

Upon which he observes: *Yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* And by denying

only, that Jesus said, *He should not die*, he admits, that a promise was made him *of living till Christ came.*

What then is this *Coming of Christ?* And why did not St. John, who was to die like other men, explain what it meant, that he might effectually put a stop to the false surmises of the brethren? I can see but one reason, why he is no more explicit; and it is this: he wrote his Gospel at a time, when it was generally understood among the brethren, that he had lived to see the advent of Christ, to which the promise related. He who hereafter will come to consume the wicked with the *brightness* of his appearing, was already come in the *clouds* of heaven. The glory of his person was unseen, but the power of his presence was felt in his judgments. And the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity was such a comment on the promise, that St. John should survive till Christ came, that there needed no other.

8. §. On this ground, which appears to be firm and good, let us consider an account given by him, Ch. xi. 47—50. of the proceedings of the Jewish rulers. In a conference among themselves concerning Christ, they said, *What do we? for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation.* The result of the consultation was, *That it was expedient he should die.* And what they judged so expedient, they soon accomplished. However the Romans came, and took away both their place and nation: and great and dreadful was the fall of them. Afterwards St. John published this account of their counsels and proceedings; first, As a manifestation to mankind of the visible hand and just vengeance of Heaven on a people who had concurred with the unrighteous policy of their rulers, and had been the betrayers and murtherers of the Just One: secondly,

As

As a call to the sad survivors of these calamities; that *the remnant being affrighted might give glory to God* by their conversion.

St. Matthew had shown early, that they had made themselves and their children responsible for the blood of Christ; and now St. John reminds them, that it had been required at their hands.

These several circumstances are strongly on the side of those, who maintain *the late publication of St. John's Gospel.*

9. §. As to the place in which it was published; If it can be proved, that St. John counted the hours as we do; that some of his seven churches did the same; and that, as far as appears, the use of such hours was peculiar to that small district of the Roman empire; we shall then have an internal, and probably an intended, mark, that he composed his Gospel somewhere within the circle of these churches, and may reasonably abide by the authority of the ancients, that he composed it at Ephesus.

His hours will be considered afterwards. I shall close the present Discourse with a few reflections on a material article of this work.

SECT. III.

Each succeeding Evangelist confirms the authenticity of the preceding Gospels. The credit and testimony of ST. MARK *and* ST. LUKE *not weakened, because they had seen* ST. MATTHEW'S *Gospel.*

1. §. The Evangelists in succession pursued a wise and sure method of warranting the truth and genuineness of each former Gospel with all the authority of the latter [1]. Let us for instance suppose St. Peter to

[1] See the conclusion of Dr. Owen's Observations on the Four Gospels.

have

have been requested, or to have desired, to leave his testimony with the church, in St. Mark's Gospel, of the authenticity of St. Matthew's. How was this to be effected? He might have mentioned it, as he does St. Paul's Epistles [1], in terms of respect, and called it, The Gospel of *our beloved brother Matthew:* by which or the like words he would doubtless have borne witness to the truth of it. But if a question should arise, not whether St. Matthew had composed a true Gospel, but which was the true Gospel of St. Matthew; such a testimony could no more decide it, than the ranking of St. Paul's Epistles with the other Scriptures can determine, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews be St. Paul's. If then a Gospel was afterwards to appear under the title of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* [2], which might be mistaken, and actually was mistaken by some, for the authentic Gospel of St. Matthew; how could St. Peter deposite with the church a better touchstone by which to detect the *adulterate*, than by incorporating so much of the *genuine* into his own Gospel?

Again: if St. Luke transcribed several passages from St. Mark, we have the attestation not only of St. Luke, but of his friend and principal St. Paul, to the verity of this Gospel.

Lastly, St. John authenticated the three foregoing Gospels by an opposite method, that is, by *omitting*

[1] 2 Pet. iii. 15.

[2] The Gospel of the Ebionites, which was in the main the same with that of the Nazarenes, was intitled by themselves, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. It was partly a compilation from St. Matthew and St. Luke; and what was taken from the former was plainly translated from the Greek. Yet about the middle of the fourth century a notion began to prevail, that this was the authentic Hebrew of St. Matthew's Gospel.

See Twells's Critical Examination. Reply, p. 110—127. Second Vindication, p. 19. 68. Jones's New Method, V. i. Part ii. C. xxv. p. 331.

not

not *repeating* what they had related. Of which enough has been said.

As to St. John's Gospel, if it was written late, as many suppose, and I think with probability, the church of Christ had then acquired some strength and consistence, and a more easy and settled correspondence of its distant members with each other. And perhaps no city was better situated than Ephesus to spread intelligence to the generality of places where any Christian resided. A city so much frequented formed a connection between the two great divisions of Europe and Asia. Here it is generally allowed, that St. John composed his Gospel; and the notoriety of the fact superseded the want of another Apostle to attest it.

2. §. I shall beg leave to add only a few words more, in answer to the objections of those, who think, that we weaken the evidence of the evangelical history, and lessen the credit of St. Mark and St. Luke, by supposing them to have written with a knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel. Let the matter be examined without prejudice.

The Gospel must be true, if St. Matthew's is a true history of it: to satisfy us of which, the proof of two things is requisite; first, That he was a faithful relater of what he had seen and heard; secondly, That the relation which bears his name is his relation.

The first thing, That St. Matthew could not be deceived himself and would not deceive us, but related faithfully what he knew to be fact, is proved by the arguments which establish the credit and authority of the other Apostles, and which certainly are not the worse for admitting, that St. Mark and St. Luke had seen his Gospel and approved of it.

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The second point, That the Gospel which bears his name is *his* Gospel, hath been shown just above to be strongly confirmed by the works of these Evangelists. For if we rightly esteem a few sentences of it found in Clemens Romanus and other Apostolical Fathers an argument for its authenticity; in all reason the many passages of it which occur in the writings of St. Mark and St. Luke must be an argument of greater weight.

And their own credit is not diminished, but in one view seen to advantage by the use which they make of St. Matthew.

The credit of their knowledge is not diminished: because, by enlarging on his account, as they frequently do, in relating the same thing, they show that they were not indebted to him for the knowledge even of those things which they partly relate in his words; but were masters of the subject, and wrote with an antecedent and full idea of it.

But the credit of their veracity appears in a fairer light. In some places they seem to differ from him; and though the difference is only in appearance, they must be sensible, that this appearance might give, and it hath often given, a handle to cavil and exception against the Gospel history; which common prudence would have taught them to avoid in writing after an Apostle, if they had not been conscious of the certainty of the facts recited by them. It is truth only that hath this fearless simplicity, and gives its testimony without art or circumspection.

DISCOURSE THE EIGHTH.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART THE FIRST.

ON THE METHOD IN WHICH ST. JOHN RECKONS THE HOURS.

SECT. I.

Three instances of ST. JOHN'S *hours considered.*

IT was the way of the ancients to divide the day into twelve hours, and the night into as many. The first hour of the day was an hour after the sun rose, and the twelfth was when it set. This was the way in Judea, and to this the other Evangelists adhere. But St. John appears to have reckoned the hours as we do, from midnight to noon, and again from noon to midnight. And it may be observed, that he mentions the hour of the day oftener than any other Evangelist; as if with design to give his readers an opportunity of discerning his method by comparing one passage with another. The several instances shall be produced and considered, as they stand in his Gospel.

1. §. Chap. i. 38—40.

Then Jesus turned, and saw them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? They say unto him, Rabbi, (which is to say, being interpreted, Master) where dwellest thou? He saith unto them, Come and see. They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day. For [rather, *Now* [1]] *it was about* the tenth hour. *One of the two which heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.*

If the time here intended was that which we may call Jewish, (to distinguish it, not from the Greek and Roman which were the same with the Jewish, but from the modern) the tenth hour was about four in the afternoon, or two hours before the day ended in Judea: with which time neither the words nor circumstances of the narration seem to agree. For the words, *They abode with him that day*, rather imply, that they spent a good part of the day with him. And St. John, as if he would intimate as much, and that he did not reckon after the Jewish manner, relates several particulars which followed on that day. For Andrew, being invited by our Lord to his dwelling, came and conversed with him long enough to be satisfied, that he was the Messiah. He then went out to seek for his brother Peter; and having found him, returned to our Lord's abode with him. After which, delighted with the happy discovery he had made, he seems to have gone in search of others of his acquaintance, and to have introduced them also: as we may collect from verse 41. where it is said, *He* first *findeth his own brother Simon* [2]; for this implies,

[1] ὥρα δὲ ἦν ὡς δεκάτη. Hora autem erat quasi decima. Vulgate. Or il étoit environs la dixieme heure. Beausobre.

[2] According to the reading of the Alexandrian MS. which has πρῶτον, and of the Vulgate which has *primum*: the concurrence of

that he found and brought others after him. Now to show, that what is here mentioned was all done in one and the same day, St. John says a little beneath, ver. 43. *The day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee,* &c. And since these things appear to be the transactions of some hours, the most reasonable account of this tenth hour is, that it was ten in the morning.

2. §. Chap. iv. 6, 7.

Jesus therefore being wearied with his journey sat thus on the well. (And it was about the sixth hour.) There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water.

The sixth hour in the Jewish computation was mid-day. But it is not very probable, that this was the time intended. Among the people of the East, exact and tenacious observers of their customs, the women had their stated times of going to draw water: which they did, not in the heat of the day, but in the cool of the morning or evening [1]. That one of their times was the morning may be inferred from 1 Sam. ix. 11, 12.

And as they went up the hill to the city, they found young maidens going out to draw water, *and said unto them, Is the Seer here? And they answered them, and said, He is; behold, he is before you: make haste now, for he came to day to the city; for there is a sacrifice of the people to day in the high place.*

It was certainly in the morning that Saul and his servant, entering the city of Samuel, met these maidens: for Samuel was arrived but just before

of which Bengelius esteems of great weight. It is the reading also of several other ancient copies, of the Syriac Version, and of Origen. See Wetstein on the place.

[1] See Harmer's Observations on divers Passages of Scripture: Vol. i. p. 370, 371.

them,

them, and the sacrifice was not begun, which with the following festivity would take up great part of the day. And Samuel, partly on this account, and partly through hospitality, and not because his guests came late into the town, would transact no particular business with Saul that day, but deferred it to the next morning [1].

That another of their times was the evening, is evident from Gen. xxiv. 11.

And he made his camels to kneel down without the city, by a well of water, at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water [2].

It was most likely in the evening that this woman of Samaria came to draw water; it being said, that Jesus was wearied with his journey. After some little discourse with him, the woman, leaving her water-pot, returned hastily into the city: where the men of Sychar were probably come forth into the street to enjoy the cool of the air, and assembled for their evening conversation. Their curiosity is excited to behold the wonderful stranger of whom she informed them. They attend her to the well; discourse with

[1] Et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,
Auxilio lætos dimittam, opibusque juvabo.
Interea sacra hæc, quando huc venistis amici,
Annua, quæ differre nefas, celebrate faventes
Nobiscum. ÆN. L. viii. 170.

Virgil describes this festival as beginning in the forenoon, and continuing till evening.

[2] In the Odyssey, B. vii. 19. Ulysses is met by Minerva, as the sun was going down, under the form of a Phæacian virgin. She is described as carrying a water-pitcher: because, I presume, the maidens at that time went out to draw water. So that the same custom prevailed in ancient Greece. It prevailed likewise in Armenia, as appears from Xenophon's Anabasis, B. iv. p. 307. Ed. Hutchinson, 4to. where see also the Editor's note.

him,

him, and entreat him that he would tarry with them; that is, that he would lodge that night in their city; which he did, and *abode there two days*; I suppose, till the second morning after his arrival, when he set off for Galilee.

3. §. Chap. iv. 52, 53.

Then inquired he of them the hour when he began to amend: and they said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour *the fever left him. So the father knew that it was at the same hour, in the which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth.*

The situation both of Cana, where our Lord was, and of Capernaum, from whence a nobleman came to him as soon as he heard of his arrival in Galilee, is a little uncertain. Geographers place them about a day's journey asunder; but they seem to have been nearer. Capernaum is laid down in the maps as nearly north of Tiberias, and so less distant from Cana, which was north-west of both. Yet Josephus marched from Cana to Tiberias, in one night as I apprehend, with two hundred armed men [1]. And the nobleman, whose errand was to beseech our Lord to come down and heal his son, whom he said he had left *at the point of death*, still hoped there would be time enough for Christ to return with him to Capernaum before he expired. Christ answered his request with saying, *Go thy way, thy son liveth.* Now this conference happened at the *seventh hour.* The question is, whether it was at *one* in the afternoon, according to Jewish time, or at *seven* in the evening, according to ours. If it was at one in the afternoon, there were so many hours of day-light remaining, that paternal affection, animated with the hope of finding a dying son restored to health, would naturally have prompted a tender father to return home immediately.

[1] Life of Josephus, C. xvii.

But

But if age or infirmities rendered him unable to make such haste, surely his family, when they saw so sudden and wonderful a change in his son, would, instead of staying till the next day, have sent off a messenger immediately, who with good speed might have brought the joyful news to Cana that night. But neither of these things was done. The nobleman set out from Cana, and his servants from Capernaum, the next morning, and met on the road: where he first learned the success of our Lord's promise to him. It is therefore most probable, that when Christ dismissed him with this promise, it was now *seven* in the evening. In this case indeed, St. John must have given the meaning rather than the precise words of the servants, when he makes them say, *Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him.* But such things are done by the most faithful historians, and are not without precedent in the Gospels [1].

SECT. II.

The fourth instance considered.

Chap. xix. 13, 14. *When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour.*

Some have contended, that the proper reading in this place is *the third hour.* But all good manuscripts have *the sixth* [2]. And it is scarce conceivable, that a reading so contrary to the ideas of most transcribers should have found its way into the copies so early, and been propagated so widely, if it had not

[1] Compare Mark xiv. 30. with Matth. xxvi. 34. And see Grotius' Notes on Luke ii. 12. and Matth. xxvi. 18.

[2] See Mill and Wetstein on the place.

been

been in the original. Nor need we be embarrassed by it. Allow it, in consistence with the foregoing examples, to mean *six in the morning*, and it will suit the place in which it stands admirably well; which the *third hour* would not. We have only to make a proper distribution of the events of this morning according to the notes of time with which the Evangelists furnish us.

The night was divided either into twelve hours, or four equal watches. Of the latter division we have several traces in the Gospels [1]. And here St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John note the third watch by the *Cock-crowing*, and call the fourth the *Proi* [2]; as St. Mark does also in another place, where he speaks of all the four watches: *At even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morning, the Proi.* xiii. 35. The terms of the *Cock-crowing* and the *Proi* it will be convenient to retain.

Were the learned agreed about the year of our Saviour's Passion, we might compute with a little more accuracy. But it is sufficient for our purpose, that the Jewish Passover was not before the vernal equinox; and that the sun therefore must have risen by six on the day of the Crucifixion; which will make the third watch, or *Cock-crowing*, reckoned from midnight, consist of three hours, and the fourth watch, or *Proi*, ending at sun-rising, of three more.

Let us then examine what events the evangelical accounts restrain within the *Cock-crowing*, and what they limit to the beginning of the *Proi*; that we may

[1] Matth. xiv. 25. xxiv. 43. Mark vi. 48. Luke xii. 38.

[2] When the time is indefinite, Πρωΐ may signify *early* in a laxer sense; but when it signifies a part of the day, its meaning is precise in the Evangelists; and nearly the same, as far as I can find, in other ancient Greek authors. It notes a time that ends at sun-rising.

see

see how much time remained, and how it was disposed, till we arrive at the point which St. John calls *about the sixth hour.*

It is probable our blessed Lord was brought before one in the morning to the palace of Caiaphas, where the rulers and elders were met [1]; except that part of them who attended the apprehending of him, and returned in triumph with their prisoner [2]. The assembly or consistory was then complete. He was first examined before them concerning his doctrine; and when he referred them to his hearers for an account of it, the witnesses were called in, ready at hand, and prepared for their business: for the search of the rulers was not for the persons, but the testimony of these men. Their testimony not amounting to the purpose of condemning him to death; the consistory consulted among themselves how to proceed; and resolved, that the question should be solemnly proposed to him by the high priest, Whether he were the Christ. While this was in debate, he was in the outer or lower hall [3], where the servants attended; having been ordered out of the council-room. And while he was under guard in one part of this hall or court he heard Peter, standing with the servants in

[1] St. John only mentions, that our Lord was "led away to Annas first." Annas might be desirous of seeing him, but seems to have sent him without delay to Caiaphas and the elders assembled with him. It is not unlikely, that Annas and his son in law lived in the same palace: it being a thing not unfrequent in some countries for different branches of a family to have their distinct dwellings in the same spacious edifice. Dr. Shaw, Travels, p. 275. tells us, that it is the case in Barbary and the Levant. The palace to which St. Peter followed our Lord, and in which he disowned him, was the palace of the high priest, John xviii. 15, 16. and the palace of the high priest was certainly that of Caiaphas, Matth. xxvi. 3.

[2] See Luke xxii. 52.

[3] Ἔξω ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. Matth. xxvi. 69. Ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ κάτω. Mark xiv. 66.

another

part, disown him the third time. He was then led again into the council-room; where being solemnly interrogated, Whether he were the Christ, and as solemnly declaring, That he was, he was found guilty of death by the unanimous verdict of the court; and being once more sent out of their presence, was given up to the insolence of their officers and servants. A conference ensued among themselves, in which it was quickly determined, to lead him bound to the Prætorium without loss of time, that Pilate might ratify and execute the sentence they had passed upon him.

In this summary it is supposed, *first*, That our Lord was in the outer hall when Peter disowned him the third time; and *secondly*, That the question, Whether he were the Christ, was not proposed to him at different times or places. The former article will follow the confirmation of the latter; which seems very evident, notwithstanding the dissension of harmonists about it.

St. Matthew and St. Mark relate, that as soon as the high priest had asked him, *Art thou the Christ?* and had received his answer, he rent his clothes, and addressing himself to the council, said, *What need we any further witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy; what think ye?* Upon which *they all condemned him to be guilty of death.*. Now it is extremely improbable, as they saw him little disposed to make answers, that they put the success of their cause to the hazard of procuring the same reply from him at a second meeting of the same judges: for what? for the sake of coming to the same conclusion, *What need we any further witness?*

The question therefore, *Art thou the Christ?* was proposed but at one time: and the council, in which it was proposed, continued without adjourn-

ment where they first assembled, that is, in the palace of the high priest. For St. John, very exact in describing what he does describe of the occurrences of this morning, says expressly, *Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas to the Prætorium*, xviii. 28. where *from Caiaphas* means *from the house of Caiaphas*; as, *From the ruler of the synagogue*, Mark v. 35. is justly rendered, *From the ruler of the synagogue's house*. We may also infer, from St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the procession to the Prætorium was directly from the house of Caiaphas. But how then are we to reconcile them with St. Luke? who in the following passage seems to speak, 1. Of a later time; 2. As some think, of a change of place in which the council was held; 3. Of a different mode of interrogating our Lord:

xxii. 66—71. *And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people, and the chief priests, and the scribes came together, and led him into their council, Saying, Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe. And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.*

A literal version of the first part of this paragraph will help to remove a great part of the difficulty: *And* as day was coming, *the elders of the people, and the chief priests, and the scribes* were assembled, *and led him into their council.*

I think there is no doubt but, ὡς ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, may be properly rendered, *As day was coming*[1].

[1] "*Cum dies adventaret*: nam et ita sumi solet ὁ ἀόριστος." Grotius in Luke xxii. 66.

The

The material question is, how far back St. Luke extends the notion of *day coming*. And this may be determined by the sense of a similar expression, γενομένης δε ἡμέρας, as used in another place, which I give in our version: Luke iv. 42. *And when it was day, he departed, and went into a desert place.* St. Mark on the same occasion says, i. 35. *And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a desert place.* The two passages compared show plainly, with what latitude St. Luke speaks of *day coming*. And with the same latitude, I conceive, he uses these words again, Acts xii. 18. *Now as soon as it was day* [γενομένης δε ἡμέρας] *there was no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter.* St. Peter was in custody of sixteen soldiers, constantly chained between two of them; and these relieving each other in course, every two would have a turn of three hours in the four and twenty[1]. The delivery of St. Peter could not well be earlier or later than in some part of the third military watch. It was probably soon after midnight: when the angel who released him laid or kept the soldiers asleep by a miraculous power. But this power operating no longer than the case required, they would be awakened by the next change of the guard, and perceive that their prisoner was gone: which occasioned the *no small stir among them.* The change of the guard was at three in the morning, when the fourth military watch began. This therefore is the time which St. Luke denotes by γενομένης δε ἡμέρας, *as soon as it was day;* and when he says in the text before us, ὡς ἡμερα ἐγένετο, the words, which are in a form oftener used to express what is incom-

[1] If four soldiers were employed at the same time in guarding St. Peter, which is perhaps more probable, two chained to him, and two keeping watch; in that case each quaternion would be twice upon duty for three hours at a time in the course of a day and night.

plete, may doubtless be understood of the commencement, as well as of any other part of the fourth watch. When the sun is up, he says, *the day is fully come* (for this seems the meaning of Συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, Acts ii. 1.); but from the point of equal distance between midnight and sun-rising he considers it as *coming*.

Again: he does not say, that the elders and chief priests *did then assemble*, he tells us, that *they were assembled*. As he passed over the depositions of the false witnesses, and the previous inquiries, he had no occasion before to mention their meeting. But when he came to that part of the trial which he purposed to relate, it was then proper he should inform his readers, how the fact stood; that what our Lord professed before the council, and what they resolved in consequence of his profession, was done in a full convention of the Jewish elders and magistrates. For this reason he takes notice here, *that they were assembled*. But neither in this place nor any other does he give the least hint of their removal from the house of Caiaphas, to which he had before told us, our Lord was brought prisoner.

The remaining difficulty is not very formidable; that what St. Matthew makes the question of the high priest only, *I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ the Son of God;* St. Luke represents as the question of the assembly at large, *Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God?* If the high priest put the question with consent and by advice of his assessors, it was in truth the question of the whole court, and St. Luke might justly mention it as such. However, it may be admitted, that their eagerness to convict him might prompt them to second the question of the high priest; and that our Lord, having distinctly answered the one, did then vouchsafe to make the same

same avowal separately to the others. This may be admitted as extremely probable. I only maintain, that St. Luke means not to intimate an adjournment of the council, or a different time of proposing this solemn and decisive question. But if Christ was led into their council on this occasion, it is plain he must have been in the outer hall or court for a while before; in which situation it is easy to conceive, that he heard himself disowned the third time, *and turned and looked upon Peter.*

I observed just above, that St. Luke's words, *As day was coming,* will allow this leading of our Lord into their council to have been as soon as the *Proi* began. And thus early it seems to have been according to St. Matthew and St. Mark; who connect it immediately with the conclusion of St. Peter's fall, and that again with the second crowing of the cock, which was emphatically *the cock-crowing,* and the boundary between the third and fourth watches. It is true, they speak of the *natural,* not (if I may so call it) the *civil* cock-crowing. But what reason is there to imagine, that they did not nearly concur? Pliny speaking of these fowls observes, *That at the fourth military watch they recall men to their cares and labour*[1]. Others of the ancients, who enumerate the parts into which the space from midnight to full day is divided, and name the rest from the changes of darkness and light, define two of these parts by the *crowing* and *silence* of the cocks[2]. They were there-

[1] Cum sole eunt cubitum, quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant. Nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere, diemque venientem nunciant cantu. L. x. C. xxiv.

[2] Primum tempus diei dicitur mediæ noctis inclinatio; deinde gallicinium, inde conticuum, cum et galli conticescunt, et homines etiam tum quiescunt; deinde diluculum, id est, cum incipit dies dignosci, inde mane, cum dies clarus est. Macrobii Saturnal. B. i. C. iii. Ed. Var. towards the end.

Nox intempesta, id est, media; gallicinium quo galli cantant; conticinium, post cantum gallorum silentium; aurora vel crepusculum

fore a regular index of a certain time, at least in those southern climates; and the presumption is, that in the instance under consideration the natural and civil cock-crowing were concomitant. But, if it was then about the vernal equinox, the civil cock-crowing was at three in the morning.

At three then in the morning our Lord *was led into their council;* and soon after pronounced guilty of death. Then followed what is thus related: *And straightway in the* Proi, *the chief priests, having held a consultation with the elders and scribes and the whole council, and having bound Jesus, led him away, and delivered him to Pilate.* These words of St. Mark imply speed in resolving and acting; and so do St. Luke's: *And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth. And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate.* Probably therefore they were at the Prætorium before four in the morning; when, if the dawn was not begun, there was however the light of a full moon.

Here our Lord was accused of assuming the dignity of a king, in prejudice of Cæsar's authority [1]. To which accusation he did not vouchsafe to reply; except when Pilate asked him in the Prætorium, Whether he were the king of the Jews [2]. He then declared, that he was a king, but that his kingdom was not of this world. Upon which Pilate went out and professed, that *he found no fault in him.* Pre-

pusculum matutinum, tempus quod ante solem est. Servius in Æneid. iii. 587.

To the same purpose Censorinus, C. xxiv. In all which authors it is supposed, that the cock-crowing was very regular, and that it ended sometime before the very beginning of the morning dawn.

[1] Luke xxiii. 2. [2] John xviii. 33.

sently

sently after, having learnt *that the man was a Galilean* [1], he remitted the hearing of his cause to the tetrarch of Galilee. But by Herod he was quickly sent back with a contemptuous testimony of his innocence. His prosecutors returned with him; to whom Pilate observed, that even Herod had expressed no fear or jealousy of him; and that he himself found no fault in him. And now knowing, perhaps from some inquiries made while they were absent with Herod, that the chief priests and elders *had delivered him for envy* [2], he applied himself to the populace, who were expecting the annual indulgence of having a prisoner released to them whom they desired. To them he offered the releasement of Jesus; but the offer not meeting with acceptance, he then confined them to the choice of Jesus or Barabbas, that their suffrages might still fall as he wished. At the instigation of their superiors they chose Barabbas, notorious for sedition, of which they were accusing our Lord. Yet he seems still to have left them the liberty of saving Jesus, by asking, *What will ye then that I should do unto him whom ye call the king of the Jews* [3]? But instead of requesting his life, they called out for his crucifixion with such vehement and loud voices, that Pilate, to appease their fury, ordered him to be scourged by his soldiers in the Prætorium; and then to be brought forth and exhibited to them; prefacing his appearance with another attestation of his innocence, and expecting, that such a spectacle as was set before them must excite commiseration in their breasts: *Behold the man.* But this taste of blood served only to sharpen their appetites for it. The cry of, Crucify him, Crucify him, was reiterated, and a new charge brought against him, *that he made himself the Son of God.*

[1] Luke xxiii. 6. [2] Matth. xxvii. 18. [3] Mark xv. 12.

Pilate

Pilate startled at this went again into the Prætorium, and asked him, *Whence he was.* Our Lord, not choosing to influence a judge, who was concerned only with his innocence, by revealing his dignity, gave no answer to this question; but spoke a few words to another point with such divine composure, that Pilate sought the more to release him. Enraged at which conduct of the governor, the Jewish rulers threw out hints of accusing him to a jealous and suspicious master, as no friend of Cæsar, if he let this man go. He therefore sat down on the tribunal to pass the sentence they desired; yet still hesitated to pronounce it. *And it was about the sixth hour* [1].

I think I have mentioned the heads of all the particulars that the evangelical history requires us to include in this period, beginning at the first appearance of Christ before Pilate, and containing, as we compute, two hours and a half. The time seems sufficient, if it be considered, that some things favoured and others demanded expedition.

If Caiaphas did not send to Herod and Pilate, when our Lord was first brought prisoner to his house, certainly he would dispatch messengers to them, as soon as he was condemned in the council; to Herod, that he might be on his guard and watch over his Galilean subjects, who came in great numbers to the feast, lest they should make any disturbance in favour of Christ [2]; and to Pilate, who seems to have lent them some soldiers to assist in apprehending him [3], that they were bringing their prisoner before him.

As our Lord kept the Passover in the city, his late departure from it shows, that the gates were left

[1] John xix. 1—14.

[2] Magis enim metuebant Galilæos tanquam ipsius Jesu populares. Grot. in Matth. xxvi. 5.

[3] Wolfius in Matth. xxvi. 47.

open

open that night[1]. Now when there was an amazing concourse of a mutinous nation in Jerusalem and the villages about it, there was great need of vigilance in the governors without any singular occurrence. It cannot therefore seem strange, that on such an occasion as this, Pilate, and quickly after him Herod, was early up, and ready to receive the Jewish rulers at their first appearance. The first time they continued but a little while with Pilate: for *as soon as he knew that Jesus belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who was himself also at Jerusalem at that time.* It is most likely that both of them (and the high priest also) lodged near the temple. The tetrarch of Galilee resided in his own territories, and the procurator of Judea at Cæsarea. They came but occasionally to Jerusalem. And at such times they and the whole train of each might be received, without interfering, in the superb edifice erected by Herod the Great[2]: for it consisted of two distinct spacious buildings; one of which he named Cæsaréum and the other Agrippéum: and Josephus in one place calls it not a palace but palaces[3]. This edifice, as well as the tower Antonia, which was a palace and fortress together, stood near the temple, and communicated with it. Little time therefore being lost in moving from place to place, the first exa-

[1] Compare Mark xiv. ver. 13. with ver. 26.

[2] Josephus, Jewish War, B. i. C. xxi. § 1. It seems evident from Philo Judæus, that the governor had some right in the Herodian palace: for he informs us, that Pilate there dedicated and fixed up some golden shields; in a conspicuous part of it, I presume: at which the Jews took great umbrage. The Herodian family (Philo says, the four sons of the king, and the other royal descendants,) were called in to join in a request that Pilate would remove them. The remonstrance of those princes was purely on the ground of that of the other Jews, that his act was a violation of their religion: they made no complaint, as far as appears, that it was an invasion of their private property. Philo, Leg. ad Caium, vol. ii. p. 589, 590. Ed. Mangey.

[3] Ibid. B. v. C. iv. § 4. τὰ βασίλεια.

mination

mination before Pilate, and the interview with Herod, might come within such compass, as that our Lord might be remanded to Pilate by five in the morning: at which time it was broad day-light.

There was great eagerness for a speedy determination on one side, and a necessity for it on the other. The Jewish rulers, who had hitherto surrounded the tribunal with their followers and dependants, were jealous of delay and of a variable multitude, and pressed on with ardor and violence, while circumstances favoured. The proof of the crime alleged rested on the sole authority of the accusers: *If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee*[1]. And though Pilate twice interrogated Jesus in the Prætorium, he did it hastily, and as it were with the sound of their outcry in his ears. He well knew the seditious spirit of the nation, uneasy under a foreign yoke, and confiding in their numbers at the Passovers[2]. A tumult was beginning[3], and might increase with an accession of people. It was requisite therefore to resolve speedily, whether he would appease them by compliance, or repel them by force; which then especially he would avoid.

If the hour in question is not six in the morning, it is noon-day. But will this construction of it suit, I say not with the other Evangelists, but upon the whole with St. John himself? He tells us, that Pilate came forth and gave audience to the Jews in the *Proi*[4]. Now if the matter began ere the sun was up, and when it had reached the meridian was still not finished; how will the tract of time and train of cir-

[1] John xviii. 30.

[2] Μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις αὐτῶν φύσις ἅπτεται. Josephus, Jewish War, B. i. C. iv. § 3.

[3] Matth. xxvii. 24.

[4] John xviii. 28.

cumstances

cumstances go hand in hand? Must not the latter unavoidably stop short of the former? Of the four Evangelists St. John is the fullest and most particular, except that he takes no notice of Herod, in relating what concerned our Saviour in this period. But the detail of his relation conveys no idea of so much time; which indeed is repugnant to credibility for other reasons. We have the same persons assembled and acting together, the same cause going on all along, a cause not puzzled nor retarded by witnesses, but maintained by mere dint of assertion, and urged with such vehemence on the part of the prosecutors, that what delay there was of the sentence was occasioned purely by the judge's reluctance to deliver it. But since it is evident, that this judge rather evaded their attacks upon him, than withstood them with the firmness of a man of conscience, is it to be imagined, that he demurred till noon, in so critical a season, and assaulted on every side by their fierce and turbulent importunities? Probability demands, that we fix the boundary of his resistance much nearer to the *Proi.*

Now the time which we allow, for the main of his endeavours to save our Lord, is adequate to the events comprised in it, and best suited to the spirit of the day, and the conduct of the parties contending on this occasion. The time, reckoned from their return at five from Herod, may be supposed an hour and half: for the words, *About the sixth hour*, do not so straighten us, but that we may add twenty or thirty minutes. It suffices, that Pilate sat down on the tribunal, if not precisely at six, not later than half an hour after it.

We have followed the plain road before us from the beginning of the *Proi*, and are brought to this conclusion. We shall come to it again by another way,

way, that is, by returning from a settled term beyond, towards that which we are desirous to find, and making a probable estimate of the requisite distance between them. The settled term is the hour of the Crucifixion given us by St. Mark [1]; whose exactness with regard to the times when the supernatural darkness began and ended, being confirmed by the testimonies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, leaves no room to question his accuracy in the time of the Crucifixion, though he alone mentions it. It was therefore *the third hour*, or nine in the morning: and we are to consider, first, What time the procession from the Prætorium to mount Calvary, and the act of crucifying our Lord took up; secondly, Before this procession began, what time he was detained in the Prætorium, when Pilate had delivered him to be crucified; thirdly, How long the sentence of death was delayed after Pilate sat down on the tribunal.

1. Mount Calvary was near to the city; but the procession to it must have been slow. At the Paschal Supper of the foregoing night, Christ seems to have denied himself the refreshment of the cup which he gave to his disciples [2]; and his body was enfeebled by his agony in the garden, and what it had since endured, particularly by pain and loss of blood when he was scourged. He himself carried his cross to the gate of the city; and though it was there laid on Symon the Cyrenian, he had further to go, and a small eminence to ascend [3]. To this procession, and

[1] xv. 25.

[2] Luke xxii. 16—18. Of the Passover he says, *I will not* any more *eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God*: but of the cup; *Take this, and divide it among yourselves: For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.*

[3] Mount Calvary, a rocky hill, neither high nor ample. Sandys' Travels, p 124. Mount Calvary, which is a small eminency or hill upon the greater mountain of Moriah. Maundrell's Journey to Jerusalem, p. 68.

to

to the preparations and act of crucifixion, we may well allot a *full hour*.

2. Before he was led forth, that the executions might be finished together, the two robbers, if no more prisoners, were to be tried. For in cases where no appeal lay to the emperor or Roman senate, the sentence of the judge was followed by the immediate punishment of the offender [1]. They had not therefore been examined by Pilate on any preceding day; nor in this morning, in which the trial of our Lord came on so early. Probably, while his cause was depending, they were brought from the prison to the hall where the soldiers kept guard, that they might be in readiness. In this place the penitent thief attending to the deportment of Jesus, while he was scourged and insulted by the Roman soldiers, might conceive that sense of his innocence, meekness, and majesty, which prepared him for the grace of perfect faith on the cross. When these men were condemned, they were to be scourged at the Prætorium according to the Roman manner, before they were taken to be crucified. To the time employed in trying, condemning, and scourging them, if we add a short previous pause, which Pilate might require to compose his mind not slightly agitated and disturbed, may we not reckon the whole another *full hour*? In the mean while Christ was guarded by the soldiers; into whose hands therefore he was delivered at seven, or rather earlier.

3. When Pilate had taken his seat on the tribunal, in order to pronounce sentence of death on Christ,

[1] Modestinus in L. Constitut. xvi. de appellationibus. Constitutiones quæ de recipiendis nec non appellationibus loquuntur, ut nihil novi fiat, locum non habent in eorum persona, quos damnatos statim puniri interest; ut sunt insignes latrones, vel seditionum concitatores, vel duces factionum. Apud Crenium in Fascic. Tom. iii. p. 610.

he

he received a message from his wife[1]; and, still, fluctuating, expostulated once more with the Jews about him[2]; declared his innocence again, and his own averseness to condemn him: *When he saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of*

[1] Matth. xxvii. 19. When he was set down on the judgment-seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man, &c.

[2] Ibid. ver. 23. Grotius on Matth. xxvii. 45. proposes, as others had done before, another method of reconciling St. Mark and St. John with respect to their hours. The Jews, he tells us, divided the day, as they did the night, into four quarters, each containing three common hours: and whatever was done within the space of one of these quarters might be reckoned to the hour at which the quarter began, or at which it ended: [Factum autem *tertia* aut *sexta* hora dicitur, quicquid inter stata illa precandi tempora evenerat; ut solent quæ in medio sunt posita nunc ad hunc, nunc ad illum, terminum referri.] The second of these quarters of the day began at the *third* hour, about which time it is here supposed that our Lord was condemned: and it ended at the *sixth* hour, about which time it is supposed he was crucified. St. John mentions the time of his condemnation, St. Mark of his crucifixion. Each Evangelist certainly knew the time of what he relates: and describing it by the hour of the day, intended, we may presume, to describe it with some exactness. But here St. John is made to distinguish the *beginning* of the second quarter or division of the day by its latest term, the *sixth hour;* and St. Mark the *conclusion* of it by its earliest term, the *third hour*. This seems strange. Yet this hypothesis has been espoused by a late eminent and respectable author; who has raised many objections against the method of explaining St. John's hours that is offered in these Discourses. See Dr. Randolph's View of our Saviour's Ministry, &c. Vol. i. p. 363. *note* (t). The division of the Jewish day into four quarters, each containing three hours, is not disputed: but it may be much doubted, whether the whole space of every quarter was denominated from the hour at which it began; so that what was done in the middle or towards the conclusion of the first quarter might therefore be said to be done at the first hour. For this there seems no good authority; nor for maintaining, that *hora tertia*, or *hora sexta*, was ever used in the latitude here supposed. But the arguments on both sides are before the learned; and to them it is submitted to determine, on which side lies the greater probability.

this

this just person, see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. Upon which he decreed, *that it should be as they required.* A small allowance of time for each of these particulars will bring us within *half an hour of six.* Here then the computations meet, whether we reckon on from the *Proi*, or back from *the third hour:* by either account Pilate *sat down in the judgment-seat* between six and seven in the morning.

The immediate object of this inquiry may not have needed the length of disquisition into which I have been led. But if it can help to throw light on any part of the history of our blessed Saviour's Passion, it will want no apology to a Christian reader; who will regard this question of hours chiefly because of its connection with that most interesting and important history.

The result of the inquiry is, I trust, that no time agrees so well with St. John's sixth hour, and the transactions that happened about this hour, as *six in the morning.* And then in all the instances in which he names the hour, it hath been made most probable, that he reckoned as we do.

SECT. III.

St. John *begins the day as the* Romans *did; but his method of counting the hours is not* Roman, *but* Asiatic.

Dr. Clarke, and since him our authors in general, who maintain that St. John reckoned the hours after this method, consider it as the *Roman method*[1]. Such it is admitted to be by their learned opponent

[1] Clarke's Paraphrase, note on Mark xv. 25.

Dr.

Dr. Lardner[1]; and so it had been called before by Mons. Toinard and Mons. Le Clerc. The probable source of this mistake I shall point out elsewhere. But a mistake it undoubtedly is. We find the very same mode of counting the hours that the Jews used, in the works of all the Romans, in prose and verse, in historical and philosophical compositions, as well as in popular orations and familiar epistles.

However, St. John so far agrees with them, that he parts one day from another *at midnight:* in which he differs from the usage of the Jews who divided them *at sunset*. And this circumstance renders it more credible, that he has receded from their computation in his hours.

The commencement of his day was observed and argued by the late Dr. Benson[2], from the following passage:

John xx. 19. *Then the* same day *at evening, being the* first *day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.*

This appearance of Christ, which St. John says, *was on the* first day *of the week*, that is, on the evening of the Resurrection, happened presently after the return of the two disciples from Emmaus, as we learn from Luke xxiv. 13—36. *At what time of the evening did they then return?* For on this the argument depends. Dr. Lardner thinks it was before sun-set; in which case here is no proof that St. John's civil

[1] Remarks on Dr. Ward's Dissertations, p. 30—40.

[2] History of the first planting of the Christian Religion. Appendix. No. iv. p. 52.

day

day ended later than that of the Jews: for till the sun was gone down, there is no dispute that it was the *first* day of the week, whether he began the *second* in the evening or at midnight. But Dr. Benson judged it so clear a point, that the two disciples did not come back to the Apostles from Emmaus, till the sun was set, that he has taken it for granted. And certainly the much greater probability is on this side of the question. For before they had reached Emmaus they began to press our Lord traveling with them under the appearance of a stranger to abide with them; because, as they said, *It was towards evening, and the day was far spent.* I know that the Sacred Writers under the notion of evening sometimes include great part of the afternoon [1]; but if that had been St. Luke's intention here, he would have put the word into another form: for when afternoon is begun, who that would speak with propriety says, *It is towards afternoon*, and not rather, *It is afternoon?* To determine and limit the sense of the word *evening* it is added, *And the day is far spent*, or, *the day is declined*: not, *the day is beginning to decline*, as he says in another place, when yet, *The day was far spent*, as St. Mark tells us in the parallel passage [2]. It was therefore hastening towards sunset when they entered the village, *And he went in to tarry with them.* There a repast was prepared, to

[1] The word, under which the Evangelists comprehend a considerable space before, as well as after, sunset, is Ὀψία. And this indeed is St. John's word xx. 19. but St. Luke's xxiv. 29. is Ἑσπέρα, a word of stricter signification, and by which, if he apply it here, as in the two other places where he uses it again, Acts iv. 3. xxviii. 23. he must mean the time which begins at sunset: and this is the proper notion of the word. See Macrob. Saturnal. B. i. C. iii. towards the end. Ἑσπέρα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν δύσιν τοῦ ἡλίου ὥρα. Himerius in Wetstein on Matth. xxviii. 1. V. i p. 544. See Judges xix. 16. compared with ver. 14. in the Septuagint.

[2] Compare the expression here with chap. ix. ver. 12. and that with Mark vi. 35. in the original.

which they sat down. And when he had made himself known to them, and disappeared, they had *seven miles and a half* of a mountainous country to walk back to Jerusalem. Let any indifferent person then judge, whether it is likely they had done all this, met with the Apostles, and related the particulars of their story to them, before the sun was gone down. On the other hand there is a great probability that the Apostles themselves, whom they found gathered together, did not assemble, till the dusk of the evening rendered their meeting less observable, as they were in fear of danger or insult from the Jews[1]. But if *they* assembled, or *the two disciples* returned after sunset, then the appearance of Christ to them was on the *second* day of the week according to Jewish time, and St. John, who reckons it to the *first*, must have followed a different method of computing.

But what led him to differ thus from them? If the question related only to a different beginning of the day, we might reply that he followed the Roman division of it. But how are we to account for his hours, which are as little Roman as Jewish? I will answer this difficult question as well as I am able.

I conceive then that he met with them in the district of Asia Minor that contained the Seven Churches: in which country the learned in succession might have received a notion of them from the astronomers who had flourished at Miletus[2]. And in the time of Alexander the Great, when the Asiatic Greeks regulated their year by the Macedonian, this reformation of the hours might take place in some of their cities. And whether Ephesus was one of them or not, St. John might encourage the Christians there to receive

[1] *For fear of the Jews.*] Causa redditur, cur cœtus habuerint *nocturnos*, et cur clausis januis. Grot. in loc.

[2] Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, were of Miletus.

it;

it; as a different beginning of the day would in some observances a little distinguish between them and the Jews, and lead the Jewish converts by a very gentle transition from old things to new. It would also avoid a little incongruity in the celebration of Easter. If they began their day at sunset, like the Jews, their Paschal fast, corresponding to the time during which our Saviour lay in the grave, would end too soon; and the festival of Easter must anticipate the hour in which he arose. But if they made midnight the boundary between the two days, the festival of course would commence the next morning; and the Resurrection would be aptly and properly commemorated after the hour in which it took place.

These Asian churches, till the council of Nice, adhered to the rule of keeping Easter at the full of the vernal moon, in whatever part of the week it fell. In which point they differed from the general practice of the Christian world. Their plea was, that they followed the institution of St. John. And as the fact is well attested, it is an argument, that he was not inattentive to regulations of this nature [1].

That such a method of counting the hours, as we have proved St. John's to be, obtained in one part of Asia Minor, I think evident from the celebrated Epistle of the church of *Smyrna*, concerning the martyrdom of their bishop St. Polycarp, written about the middle of the second century, and addressed to the church of Philadelphia [2]. In this Epistle they relate, that he suffered on the second day of the month Xanthicus (March the 26th, as Usher and Pearson

[1] Eusebius, B. v. C. xxiv. Irenæi Fragmenta at the end of his works, p. 464. Ed. Grabe.

[2] See an account of it in Archbishop Wake's Preliminary Discourse to the Translation of the Apostolical Fathers, p. 59. and in Ruinart's Acta Martyrum, p. 28. fol.

determine [1]) *about the eighth hour*. Now the circumstances of the narrative show, that this *eighth hour* could be no other than eight in the morning. He had retired from the city, first to one village, and then to another; whither a party of horse was sent to apprehend him. They left Smyrna between three and four in the afternoon, and arrived about the close of the evening [2]; as it was at the vernal equinox, I suppose about seven. They had therefore been three hours and a half on the road. Their stay in the village might be as long; as they had a search to make after him, were entertained in the house where they found him, and allowed him two hours for his devotions. They then set him on an ass, and began their journey back. And if we suppose them to have traveled twice as slow with a very old man thus mounted, they would yet arrive soon after it was day-light, between five and six in the morning. When they reached Smyrna the chief officer met them, and conducted him immediately before the proconsul into the public place, where a large multitude was got together, in expectation of his coming, and eager for his destruction. The conversation between the proconsul and him was not long. He declared his name, professed his faith and a resolution of never forsaking it. And then it was quickly determined, that he should be burnt alive: "*which* "*was done*, says the Letter, *with greater speed than* "*it was spoken*." *The eighth hour*, therefore, when he suffered, could not be *two* in the afternoon, but must have been *eight* in the morning.

We need not be surprised at finding the people assembled in the public place so early. It was an usual

[1] Usher de Anno Macedon. C. iii. Pearson De Prim. Romæ Episcopis, Dissert. ii. C. xviii.

[2] Hora ipsius cœnæ egressi sunt. Ruinart, p. 32.

time

time of beginning the shows and spectacles in these hot climates. Herod Agrippa was in the theatre at Cæsarea as soon as it was day, and was making an oration when the sun rose [1]; the reflection of which from his "*royal apparel*," all covered with silver, was so splendid as to dazzle and astonish the beholders, and excite the prophane acclamations, of which both St. Luke [2], and Josephus take notice. Philo Judæus has another instance of the early concourse of the people in the theatre: for in relating the persecution of the Jews by the Alexandrians, he says, *That the spectacles first exhibited, from* early in the morning *even to the third or fourth hour, were the Jews, scourged, suspended, tormented, condemned, and led to death through the middle of the orchestra* [3]. The words of Philo intimate, that the fourth was a late hour for the continuance of such cruel entertainments, and that commonly they gave place before that time to more festive amusements.

About eighty-four years after the martyrdom of Polycarp, Pionius suffered the same death at Smyrna [4]. He suffered, as the acts of his martyrdom mention, *on the* IV *before the ides of March according to the Roman calendar, but on the* XI *of the seventh month according to the Asiatic, at* the tenth hour. As the Roman magistrates sat in judgement in the morning, often very early, and the sentence on Pionius was executed without delay, it is not credible that his death was deferred to *four* in the afternoon: it was therefore at *ten* in the morning; and yields another proof that the people of Smyrna reckoned as

[1] Josephus, Antiq. B. xix. C. viii. § 2.
[2] Acts xii. 22.
[3] Philo in Flaccum, V. ii. p. 529. Ed. Mangey.
[4] Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, p. 137. Pionius suffered at the same hour in which Fructuosus bishop of Tarragon was executed. Ibid. p. 219.

we

we do. And if they and a few other Asiatic cities varied from the rest of Asia, it was a peculiarity for the better; and not so extraordinary, as that the citizens of Nurenberg should disagree with the Germans round them for the worse: for their clocks strike the hours after the method of the ancients [1].

It is no wonder, if they who had scarce an idea of other hours than such as were used in Italy and Greece, and used also in the country where St. John was bred, took it for granted, that he all along retained them, and therefore overlooked the marks he has given of another method of counting them.

[1] Keysler's Travels, Letter 92. near the beginning.

DISCOURSE THE EIGHTH.

PART THE SECOND.

The Hours of the Romans and of some other ancient Nations considered.

IT will probably appear questionable, whether so many learned men could be mistaken, as have supposed the method in which *we* reckon the hours to have been a Roman method. I will here therefore show, how the fact is: and if any should think I over-prove it, my excuse must be, that it seemed necessary to oppose full evidence to great authorities; and that I do it, not for such as are versed in the subject, but for those who have not attended to it.

The Romans called the time between the rising and setting sun the *natural* day, and the time of the whole four and twenty hours the *civil* day [1]. The civil day they began and ended at midnight; and

[1] Naturalis dies est tempus ab oriente sole ad solis occasum; cujus contrarium tempus est nox, ab occasu solis usque ad exortum. Civilis autem dies vocatur tempus quod fit uno cœli circumactu, quo dies verus et nox continetur. Censorinus de Die natali, C. xxiii. See also Plin. Nat. Hist. B. ii. C. lxxix. Hardouin.

Aldus and others of the moderns reverse the application of these terms, and call the whole four and twenty hours the *natural* day. Aldus on Palladius: Libri de Re Rustica, Paris. 1533. p. 504.

derived

derived this practice from their ancient jurisprudence and rites of religion established long before they had any idea of hours [1]. According to Varro, the first sun-dial seen at Rome was brought from Catana in Sicily, as part of the spoils of this city, in the first Punic war [2]. It was set up unskilfully in the Forum, and did not answer exactly to the latitude of the place; yet was the only measure of hours which they had for ninety-nine years, when matters began to be better ordered. Thus therefore they learnt the division of hours, which ever afterwards they followed, from a dial of Greek construction. But the Greeks divided the natural day into twelve hours; which, as Herodotus informs us, they were taught by the Babylonians [3]. Accordingly the dials on the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes were so constructed, *That the longest as well as shortest days are divided alike into twelve hours* [4]: and these, it is evident, were numbered from sunrising.

Such were the hours of Polybius, in the time of the Roman republic [5]; of Plutarch and other Greek authors, under the emperors [6]; and such they continued at Constantinople, when the Western empire was no more. In the seventh century one of the Greek emperors, Constantinus Pogonatus, as is commonly reputed, compiled a book on agriculture, in which, describing the course of the moon, he plainly divides the day and night into twelve hours each [7].

[1] Censorinus, C. xxiii. Macrob. Saturnal. B. i. C. iii.

[2] Censorin. ib. Plin. Nat. Hist. B. vii. C. lx.

[3] Herod. B. ii. C. cix.

[4] Antiquities of Athens, by Stuart and Revett, C. iii. plate x, xi.

[5] See Book i. about the middle, where he describes the entrance of Hannibal the Rhodian into Lilybæum Περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν.

[6] See particularly, Life of Sylla, p. 87. 97. Ed. Bryan.

[7] Geoponic. L. i. C. vii. p. 10. Ed. Needham. Cantab. 1704.

By

By these hours is the ancient Epigram to be explained, which tells us, That *six hours will suffice for labour, but the next following, pointed out by the letters, say to men, Live,* ZHΘI. For the letters of ZHΘI, as signs of number, are the *seventh, eighth, ninth,* and *tenth;* that is, the four hours following noon, which was the *sixth:*

Ἓξ ὧραι μόχθοις ἱκαναὶ τάλαι· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς,
Γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι, ZHΘI λέγεσι βροτοῖς [1].

The Romans therefore, as imitators of the Greeks, divided the natural day into twelve hours, and reckoned them after the same manner. The hours of one day were equal to each other, but unequal to the hours of another day at any distance; and the diurnal hours were much longer in summer than winter [2]. We may therefore style them *unequal* hours to distinguish them from the modern, which are always of the same length.

A variety of examples is here collected, from authors who lived in different ages of the Roman empire, and treated of very different subjects, to prove, not so much that this was a method, as that it was the only method, of marking the time of day received among them.

Si te grata quies et *primam* somnus in horam
Delectat. Hor. L. i. Epist. xvii. 6.

——— Ante *secundam*
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.
Id. L. ii. Sat. vi. 34.

[1] Epigram. Græc. L. i. p. 169. Basil. 1549. fol

[2] Hora nec æstiva est, nec tibi tota perit. Martial. L. xii. Ep. i. Hæc enim ad infinitam ætatem non sunt brumalis unius instar horæ. Censorinus, C. xvi.

In

In like manner Cicero:

Ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora *secunda*.
Orat. pro P. Quintio, § 6.

Hora *secunda* calceos poscit. Plin. Epist. L. iii. Ep. i.

In oppido Pistoriensi prope horam diei *tertiam* spectantibus multis asinus tribunali adscenso audiebatur destinatiùs rugiens.
Ammian. Marcellin. L. xxvii. C. iii.

Exercet raucos *tertia* causidicos.
Martial. L. iv. Ep. viii.

See this whole Epigram for an account of the Roman day and hours.

Ipse [Cæsar] hora circiter diei *quarta* cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit. De Bell. Gall. L. iv. C. xxiii.

Inde ubi *quarta* sitim cœli collegerit hora.
Virg. Georg. iii. 327.

Stertimus indomitum quod despumare Falernum
Sufficiat, *quinta* dum linea tangitur umbra.
Pers. Sat. iii. 4.

Tunc horas requirenti pro *quinta*, quam metuebat, *sexta* ex industria nunciata est.
Sueton. in Domitiano, C. xvi.

Cum in Berenice, quam primam posuimus, ipso die solstitii *sexta* hora umbræ in totum absumantur.
Plin. Nat. Hist. L. vi. C. xxxiv.

Pliny is here speaking of a place under the tropic of Cancer, where on the day of the summer solstice the sun being vertical at the sixth hour, or noon, there was no shadow.

Hora

Hora quasi *septima* cunctatus est an ad prandium surgeret. Sueton. in C. Caligula, C. lviii.

The *prandium* was a repast commonly taken at noon, which the same author in the Life of Augustus, C. lxxviii. calls *cibum meridianum.*

Ante horam *octavam* in publico neminem nisi ægrum lavari passus est.
Ælius Spartian. in Adriano Cæsare, Hist. Aug. Script. V. i. p. 196.

Nona submissum rotat hora solem,
Partibus vixdum tribus evolutis,
Quarta devexo superest in axe
Portio lucis.
Aurel. Prudentii Cathemerinòn Lib. Hymn. viii. p. 34. Ed. Elzevir.

The ancients distributed the night into four parts, and the day into as many. [Censorin. C. xxiii.] With reference to this division Prudentius says, that at the *ninth* hour three portions of the day were past, and a fourth remained. The time of the *ninth* hour is so defined by Prudentius, and that of the *sixth* by Pliny, that they might determine the others, if any of them could be doubted.

Cum hora diei *decima* fere ad Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula, &c.
Cic. Philippic. ii. § 31.

Id oriebatur circa *undecimam* horam diei.
Augustus Cæsar, apud Plin. Nat. Hist. L. ii. C. xxiii.

Augustus is here speaking of the Comet, that was seen after the death of Julius Cæsar. Suetonius and Seneca

Seneca give the same account of the time of its appearance :

Exoriens circa *undecimam* horam.
Suet. in Julio, C. lxxxviii.

Qui post necem Divi Julii ludis Veneris genetricis circa *undecimam* horam dici emersit.
Sen. Nat. Quæst. L. vii. C. 17.

O Rex, *duodecima* hora ædificare incipis.
Ὦ Βασιλεῦ, δωδεκάτης ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχῃ.
Plutarch. Vit. M. Crassi, V. iii. p. 270. Ed. Bryan.

They are the words of Marcus Crassus to king Deiotarus, who in a very advanced age was building a city.

The *twelfth* hour rarely occurs, because the time of it generally retained its ancient and natural name of sunset. For the coincidence of Roman with modern hours was, at the equinoxes when it was complete, as in this scheme ; in which the ancient hours stand above :

Sunrising. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. or sunset.
vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. modern hours.

The sixth hour being always noon, the truth of this scheme seems evident on inspection, but may be thus proved :

Palladius, De re rustica, gives the countryman a calendar of hours, and teaches him to distinguish them, in every month of the year, by the length of shadow projected by a certain perpendicular pole. This shadow decreases from the first to the sixth, when it is shortest, and then increases again. At the

first

first hour in the morning and *eleventh* in the afternoon he makes it always equal. But the *eleventh* was an hour before sunset, as the parable of the labourers in St. Matthew shows, Ch. xx. 9—12. The *first* therefore was an hour after the sun rose. And when Pliny directs, that apples in autumn should not be gathered *Ante horam primam*, Nat. Hist. B. xv. C. xviii. he means, till they have had an hour's sun upon them. Perhaps all this proof was not very necessary. However it has helped us to an authority which may be of further use.

Such was the distribution of the day into hours, which prevailed universally and from first to last among the Romans. And the authors who imagine them to have agreed with the moderns in this point, seem to have been led into the mistake by concluding too hastily, that they began to count their hours from the commencement of their civil day, which was midnight. Midnight with them was not the *twelfth* but *sixth* hour of the night: as is certain by the testimonies of Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, B. iii. C. ii. and Macrobius, Saturnal. B. i. C. iii. *Diem quem Romani civilem appellaverint a* sexta *noctis hora oriri.* And these words at the same time show, how the nocturnal hours were reckoned; which else it were easy to prove by another set of examples.

We find indeed *equal* hours mentioned, and in particular cases employed by their authors: but the use of them was no more Roman than Greek or Egyptian, and obtained only where *unequal* hours could not answer the purpose, as in astronomical calculations, and in comparing the length of days in different seasons and climates. On this occasion, and on this only, we meet with them in some passages of Pliny, who there distinguishes them, as the Greeks did also, by the name of *equinoctial* hours. On the same

same occasion we find them again in the Kalendarium rusticum Romanum [1]. But in marking the time of day the Roman writers of agriculture agree with their countrymen, as we have seen by Palladius.

The Romans were not singular in beginning the day and hours at different times. In Egypt the day commenced at midnight, but the hours in the morning. The clock invented by Ctesibius was so contrived as to lengthen or shorten the hours [2]. They were therefore ὥραι καιρικαὶ, *hours that varied with the season*. Ptolemy the astronomer marks the time of the same phænomenon by these as well as equal hours, that he may accommodate himself to the usage of his country [3]. And because the people had a difficulty of conceiving, that any day could have more or less than twelve hours, Achilles Tatius takes some pains to explain the matter to them, and to show how the same day might have *twelve* hours of one sort and *fifteen* of another [4]. Ctesibius, Ptolemy, Achilles

[1] This Calendar is published in the works of Goltzius, Vol. i. Thesaur. Rei Antiquar. p. 205. It is published also in Vol. viii. of Grævius' Roman Antiquities. It was calculated for the meridian of Rome, and places the *wheat harvest* about the middle of August, which now ends much earlier. This favours the hypothesis of a learned and ingenious Author, who supposes that the seasons there are milder than they were in the time of the Romans. See An Investigation of the Difference between the present Temperature of the Air in Italy and some other Countries, and what it was seventeen Centuries ago: By the Hon. Daines Barrington, F. R. S. Philos. Transactions, Vol. lviii. p. 58.

Palladius indeed says under July, B. viii. Tit. i. *Nunc locis temperatis tritici messis explelur.* Still I apprehend, that the wheat harvest was later in ancient Italy, whatever the cause may be, than it is in the modern; and that two degrees at least north of Rome, the wheat harvest is now over, *locis temperatis*, by the end of June.

[2] It is described by Vitruvius, B. ix. towards the end.

[3] Ptol. Μεγαλη Συνταξις, L. vii. C. iii.

[4] Isagoge ad Arati Phænom. C. xxv in the Uranologium of Dionys. Petavius, p. 149.

Tatius,

Tatius, and other authors who compute in the same manner, were of Alexandria. And the proper Egyptians, as well as Greeks of this city, must have been strangers to the common use of equal hours: else the inhabitants in general would have understood the nature of them, and not wanted the illustration which Tatius has given.

The hours were the same as at Rome in the Roman provinces of Afric and Spain. Tertullian, an inhabitant of Carthage, mentions the *third*, *sixth*, and *ninth* hours, *ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quæ diem distinguunt, quæ publice resonant*[1]. For explication of which words Rigaltius on the place quotes a passage from Varro, De ling. Latin. L. v. which tells us, that an officer called *Accensus* used by order of the Prætor to proclaim the third hour, mid-day, and the ninth hour.

In Spain, when Fructuosus bishop of Tarragon, and his two deacons Eulogius and Augurius, were led to be burnt in the Amphitheatre, their friends in kindness offered them a cup of spiced wine, which Fructuosus refused, saying, *It was not yet time to break his fast*: for, says the relater of his martyrdom, *It was about the* fourth *hour of the day*, or ten in the morning[2]. This was A. D. CCLIX.

Wandelbertus, a Benedictine monk of Prumia, a monastery in the country of Triers, about the middle of the ninth century published a poem on the method of constructing a dial[3]; in which, agreeing exactly

[1] De Jejuniis, C. x. p. 349. Ed. Rigaltii. See also Cyprian De Oratione Dominica, p. 154. Ed. Fell.

[2] Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, p. 220. fol.

[3] Printed by Pithœus at Geneva, A. D. 1596. in a book intituled, Epigrammata et Poematia vetera.

with

with Palladius, he tells us at what hours of the forenoon and afternoon the shadows correspond, and that the shadow of the *sixth hour* only has none to answer it:

Mense omni *prima undecimæ* conjungitur horæ;
Hinc umbris *decimam* nectit cursuque *secunda;*
Tertia mox *nonam* punctis complectitur isdem.
Octavæ pariter præcedens *quarta* cohæret.
Quintam subsequitur numero post *septima* justo.
Sola suas tantum mensuras *Sexta* retentat.

It is very evident that he here lays down the Roman or unequal hours; and we may conclude he described such as were used by the nations round the place of his residence, Francs, Germans, and Flemish. The people of our Island probably agreed with those of the continent. Our countryman Bede was formerly reputed the author of the poem.

I believe indeed, that for some ages these hours prevailed universally in the Western empire. They still maintain their station in the rubrics of the Latin church, which order the mass to be said on some occasions, post primam diei; on others, hora tertia, or hora sexta, or post nonam [1].

But otherwise the people of Rome and of Italy in general have changed the form of their hours: of which we have an instance in a passage which I find cited from a brief of Pope Alexander the fifth, A. D. 1409. "Annis singulis in vigilia festivitatis resur-" rectionis Dominicæ, hora diei *vigessima tertia* vel " circa, una missa solemniter decantari consueverit[2]."

[1] Missale Romanum, De hora celebrandi Missam, Rubric. xv.
[2] See under Missa vespertina in Carpentier's Appendix to Du Fresne's Glossary.

The

The method in which the hours are here reckoned, was introduced among them, as we are told, in the thirteenth century [1]; and to this they still adhere. They do not stop at *twelve*, but count the hours on to *four and twenty*; and make the day end about half an hour after the sun is gone down. This scheme avoids the inequality of Roman hours, but has unsettled the hour of *noon*, which is in perpetual fluctuation. At Rome in the depth of winter it is the nineteenth hour, but at midsummer the sixteenth: and between the solstices every minute of the 16th, 17th, and 18th hours lights in its turn upon the point of mid-day. We may therefore justly prefer the regulation received in our own and other nations, as uniting the benefits of the Roman and Italian methods without the disadvantages of either. We have equal hours with the Italians, and noon always at a certain hour as the Romans had.

But whether this more philosophic method was brought from any part of Asia into the Western and Northern regions of Europe; or whether, because increase of latitude increases the disparity between summer and winter hours upon the old plan, the inconvenience of it to northerly nations put them on contriving a better; and when and where this *new style* of hours was first introduced; these are inquiries which I leave to the learned and curious.

[1] Thesaurus sacrorum rituum, Romæ, 1738. Tom. ii. pars i. C. iv. n. 1. p. 215.

THE END.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

PRIMARY VISITATION

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

BEILBY, LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER,

IN THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH,

ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1778.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

BEILBY, LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER,

AND TO THE

CLERGY

ASSEMBLED AT

HIS LORDSHIP'S PRIMARY VISITATION

IN CHESTER, AUGUST 13, 1778,

THIS SERMON

PUBLISHED

IN OBEDIENCE TO HIS LORDSHIP'S COMMAND,

AND AT THEIR REQUEST,

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED.

LUKE iv. 32.

AND THEY WERE ASTONISHED AT HIS DOCTRINE: FOR HIS WORD WAS WITH POWER.

HE of whom the text is spoken, our Saviour Christ, once said to his disciples, *Blessed are your eyes; for they see: and your ears; for they hear*[1]. And certainly in this respect they were blessed above all who follow as well as all who preceded them, that only they, who beheld his countenance, heard his voice, and were witnesses of his life and works, can have fully conceived the power of his word. His inspired historians, the Evangelists, speaking with the tongues of men, could not convey to us an adequate idea of it. Yet doubtless they have expressed, what is sufficient to edify us as hearers, and direct us as teachers of this word: and I shall endeavour to glean up a few observations from them, on a subject that seems not unsuitable to the occasion: beginning with the *manner* in which he taught; for this also contributed to the power of his word.

As every speaker of a superior mind will have something distinguishing in the mode of his discoursing, we may justly expect to find a peculiarity of this sort in the most exalted Person that ever dwelt among men. And what was characteristic in his manner is so clearly marked, and so uniformly sustained throughout the Gospels, that if we wanted evidence of their fidelity, this were a strong presumption, that what he spake is faithfully recorded.

[1] Matth. xiii. 16.

One

One thing remarkable in the manner of his teaching is frequent allusion to things that were before the eyes of his audience, to occurrences of the time, to the season of the year, to the offices of common life, or the usual employment of those to whom he spake. As sensible and present objects most powerfully affect us, he who knew what was in man, condescended to instruct us from those things that are most easily conceived by us, and most naturally command our attention. High and heavenly truths were presented to his hearers in a familiar dress; as Angels of old came to Abraham and the Patriarchs with the shape and countenance of men. Truths thus qualified struck the imagination without alarming it; and would recur to the memory, on sight of the objects with which they were associated in his doctrine. The birds which were flying in the air around him, the lilies which were flowering on the plain where he stood, were turned into lessons on the providence and fatherly care of the Almighty [1]. The sowers who were sowing their grain in different soils and situations, near the borders of the lake where he preached from a ship, served to illustrate the various successes of the word of God, according to the temper and disposition of the heart that received it [2]. The sight of a vine spreading forth its branches gave occasion, as seems probable, to a discourse of the vital union between himself and the faithful [3]. When he called fishermen to forsake their nets and follow him, he promised to make them fishers of men [4]. He likened the perverseness of the Jews, who found equal fault with the retired austerity of the Baptist and his own freer converse with mankind, to the froward and sullen humour of those children, whom no endeavours of their companions could please and invite

[1] Matth. vi. 26. 30.
[2] Matth. xiii.
[3] John xv. 1. 6.
[4] Matth. iv. 19.

to

to join with them: *We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented* [1]. He resembled the solicitude of Heaven for the conversion of sinners, and the joy of Angels on their repentance, to a woman lighting a candle and sweeping her house, in search after her lost piece of silver, and when she had found it, calling her neighbours about her to rejoice with her [2].

If some of these images are borrowed from things low and trivial in themselves, yet he stoops without meanness in using them. Like the ground of which he formed us, and the dust from which he shall raise us, they acquire life and beauty in his hands.

Others of his allusions are of a higher strain: as when from the sun just risen, and shining with splendor on the gilded turrets and ornaments of the temple where he was discoursing, he referred to the prophecies which speak of him as the light, the east, or sun-rising [3]; and said, *I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life* [4]. When he was about to raise Lazarus from the dead, looking forward to the hour in which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and come forth, he said, *I am the resurrection, and the life* [5].

Such passages may strike us as sublime. But we shall still find, that it is the thing itself, not any parade or pomp of words, that strikes us. A difference of nature between our Immanuel and the an-

[1] Matth. xi. 16, 17. [2] Luke xv. 8. 10. [3] Isai. ix. 2. compare Matth. iv. 16. Isai. xli. 2. See Lowth on the place. Zech. iii. 8. See Lowth again, and compare Luke i. 78. Malachi, iv. 2.
[4] John viii. 12. [5] John xi. 25.

cient

cient Prophets produced a corresponding difference in discoursing of the same subjects. They, when heavenly objects were presented to their minds, were struck with awe, and as it were bowed themselves down before the majesty of the idea; and then, in representing it to others, endeavoured to clothe it in a gorgeous robe, and to deck it out with all the riches and splendor of language. But it is not so that Christ speaks of these high arguments. For as the brightness of countenance and raiment which dazzled and overcame the sight of his Apostles, when he was transfigured on the Mount, was to Him but a ray of that glory in which he dwelt before the worlds were made; so the perceptions, that astonished the imagination of man, were to his heavenly mind common and familiar objects, and he spake of them accordingly, with a certain unconcern and simplicity of phrase.

Another thing observable in his method is the use of parables; in which he often seems to accommodate his instructions to the relish of an eastern people, who delighted in figurative and allegorical compositions. By this method of teaching he excited their attention, and interested their taste and affections in the cause of the truth he was inculcating. He composed his parables with a clear and natural analogy of the representation to the thing represented; and frequently concluded them with a short sentence declaring their main scope and design. Yet still there was something meant in them that was not literally expressed; which met the understanding of the hearer, though so clearly that he could not mistake, yet so gently, that he considered himself as a discoverer and interpreter of it; and thus was led to embrace and cherish the holy moral, as seemingly the child of his own ingenuity.

But

But though our Lord followed their sages in the use of parables, he did it with a moderation and dignity becoming his character. No beasts of the field or fowls of the air, no trees of the wood, debate and confer together with the reason and speech of mankind. No emblematical persons, as the different families of virtue and vice, are introduced opposing each other and influencing the counsels and actions of men. All is built upon nature and life, and the reality of things; and composed of circumstances which every one perceived might probably happen. Once only, in the story of the rich man and Lazarus, the scene is laid beyond this visible world.

Yet it is to be observed, that though our Lord's moral parables were thus plain, all were not equally perspicuous to the first hearers. He veiled the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven with a certain degree of present obscurity, for the punishment of the obdurate and unbelieving [1], but in condescension also to the weak and infirm [2]; and with such a temperament, that they who had ears to hear might still be edified: as for instance, by the parable of the father receiving back his prodigal son [3]. For this son was not only the repenting individual, but the gentile world converted and reconciled to God. They had long strayed from their Heavenly Father, and wasted what he had distributed to them, reason, conscience, and the primitive religion of mankind, by spiritual fornication and sensual impurities: but at length would come to themselves, be humbled before him, pardoned by him, and restored to the same degree of favour as the elder brother, the Israelite. This was an event, the notion of which that elder brother was then too much blinded with prejudice to endure. It was

[1] Matth. xiii. 13—15.
[2] Mark iv. 33.
[3] Luke xv. 11—32.

there-

therefore veiled in a parable, but in a parable of immediate use and edification. Though in the book of Grace, as in the book of Nature, are treasures of wisdom imperfectly known till the appointed time of disclosing them: yet enough of both is plain and legible at sight to declare the glory of the great Author: as in this parable his goodness and mercy to sinful man are openly proclaimed, as well as mystically predicted.

Our Lord sometimes made his parables a vehicle of reproof; but with divine gentleness, where charity could hope that offenders might be so reclaimed. The Jews had a strong antipathy to strangers, and narrow notions of the duty of loving our neighbour: for this they are reproved by the parable of the merciful Samaritan [1]; not by direct censure and public accusation of their behaviour towards aliens, but by opposing to it an example of humanity and mercy, which by gaining their admiration might excite them to imitate; an example the more noble and affecting, *As the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans* [2].

And we may observe, that where the case did not demand severity, there is a great lenity of supposition in the state of his parables. The wise virgins are as many as the foolish [3]. In the parable of the ten talents we find two good and faithful and only one unprofitable servant [4]. At the maraiage feast only one of a large assembly is represented as wanting a wedding garment [5].

If some things, which have here been remarked concerning our Lord's manner, are not imitable by

[1] Luke x. 30—37. [2] John iv. 9. [3] Matth. xxv. 2.
[4] Matth. xxv. 14—30. [5] Matth. xxii. 11.

us

us in the letter, yet from the spirit of them we may learn, That he, who really wishes to instruct, will endeavour to suit the style and illustrations of his subject to the apprehension of his hearers; will consult their genius; and study, as did our Lord in the use of parables, to turn their pleasure to their profit: that images taken from very common and familiar things may be so used, as to explain and enliven an argument without debasing the dignity of the doctrine, or the character of the speaker: that, if his single aim is to transplant the sense, which he himself has of the truth, into the breasts of his hearers, a graceful unaffected simplicity will often be more commanding and effectual than the most studied and pompous eloquence: that reproofs may come home to the conscience, which are delivered without any pointed severity and in the spirit of meekness: and that charity is as favourable in its suppositions as the case will admit; and so tempers its zeal to alarm and rouse the wicked, that it may not terrify and dishearten the well-disposed.

From the *manner* of Christ's discoursing, let us turn our eyes for a while on the *subject matter*; and we shall find ourselves instructed and edified by observing, what he forbore to speak of, and what he largely insisted on.

He who came from above, who could have spoken what he knew, and testified what he had seen, concerning heaven and paradise, the nature of angels good and evil, and the state and condition of separate spirits, contents himself with very general representations of all these things. He declares that the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal; and marks out the sure way of obtaining heaven and escaping hell, but enters into no particular description of either.

Most

Most likely it is, that the secrets of the world above cannot be other than secrets to us, for want of powers at present to conceive and apprehend them. In order to have a just notion of them, a man must be caught up as high as was St. Paul, and admitted to behold what is there transacted. And even then he would hear unspeakable words, which it is not possible for a man to explain to others [1]. But whether our Lord was no more explicit concerning these high matters, because they are not clearly comprehensible, or because they are unnecessary, so the fact is. And since he came to reveal to us the sure means of rectifying and purifying our fallen nature; the certain consequence of his conduct in this case is, that the preparation for a state of heavenly felicity is not science but sanctification: the principles of which he clearly lays down; and the practice flowing from these principles he every where inculcates.

As he has promised greater assistances and higher rewards to his followers, than were distinctly promised under any former dispensation; he requires of them a purer and more spiritual course of life, than was ever taught or required before. To this end the labours of his life were directed, and to the same end he gave himself for us, *That he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works* [2]. In giving lessons of piety, righteousness, and good works, his word was with power: *For he taught as one having authority, and not as the Scribes* [3].

How and what the Scribes taught, we are not positively informed: but this we find, that in His doctrine no subtle questions, no nice and curious speculations, were handled; but all was directed

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 2. 4. [2] Titus ii. 14. [3] Matth. vii. 29.

simply

simply to the glory of God, by pressing upon the hearts of his hearers the real terms of acceptance with him, faith and obedience.

Faith is that essential principle of a religious life, without which no obedience, no good works, that the Gospel accounts such, can be performed. For God says, *The just shall live by faith*[1]. But since he subjoins, *If he draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him;* it is certain, that saving faith cannot subsist without sincere obedience. He, and he only, builds his house upon a rock, whose faith works by charity; by the keeping of the commandments of God in that pure and spiritual sense, in which they are explained and enforced by our blessed Saviour in his divine Sermon on the Mount, and throughout the Gospels. Let no one therefore who professes the high calling of a Christian ever think, in preaching or practice, of separating things so jointly necessary to salvation. For as *without faith it is impossible to please God*[2]; so *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*[3]. And to call men to sincere and universal obedience of the evangelical law cannot be legal preaching, as the very terms of the proposition show.

My hearers will have anticipated all that I could say of the power which the word of Christ derived from his own *example*: the strictness of whose holy and unspotted life went beyond his precepts: since he himself was contented to forego many things which he has not forbidden his followers, that he might the more benefit mankind by his meritorious obedience, and set before us the noblest pattern of abstinence and fortitude. It was therefore with peculiar power and authority, that He taught the doc-

[1] Heb. x. 38. [2] xi. 6. [3] xii. 14.

trine

trine of the Cross, and of not loving the world. And if every Christian, and he especially who is to be an ensample to the flock, would show an humble and unaffected moderation in those desires and gratifications, which are in themselves not unlawful, the sentiments of his heart and the language of his mouth would more uniformly harmonize with a spiritual and heavenly religion; and his life be more convincing and edifying. In moral concerns there is not a more successful argument of persuasion, than a visible correspondence of profession and practice.

Christ confirmed his word by another power, the power of *miracles:* which he exercised himself, and consigned to his Apostles, when he sent them forth to subdue a world lying in wickedness to the obedience of faith; to overcome the vices, ignorance, and rooted prejudices of mankind; to contend with the power of kings and magistrates, the pride of philosophers, and the worldly interests of those who had their gain and wealth from the prevailing superstitions.

These tokens we see not any more; yet may justly argue from what is still visible to the reality of the miracles, wrought by the first Preachers of the Gospel. A few simple and unlearned men could not have surmounted the innumerable difficulties and impediments which the Apostles overcame, and have spread the knowledge and practice of pure religion from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, unless the Lord had confirmed the word with signs following. The strength and extent of the Christian Church, raised by their hands in the weakness and corruptions of nature, and amidst the assaults of so much enmity on every side, prove that they founded it upon miraculous powers: and though these foundations are out of sight, their existence is sufficiently

sufficiently attested by the building that rests upon them.

But if the word was enforced by miracles in the times only of its early publication, it has the standing support and evidence of another power, which is still as operative, where we will allow it, as ever. This is declared and promised in the following passage: *Jesus answered them and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself*[1].

The person who enters on the study of a science, of which he has only a general idea, must receive many things at first on the authority of his instructors. And surely there is no one, who by his life and works has such claim to trust and confidence in his word, as the Author and Finisher of our faith. If then we really desire to know the certainty of his doctrine; if we have courage to sacrifice meaner pursuits to the wisdom that is from above and the felicity of attaining it; we shall study the truth of his religion, as he directs, by the practice of its laws. And this method, he assures us, will yield us the repose and comfort of firm persuasion. Continuing steadfast in such a course of discipline, we shall not seek after signs from heaven, nor ask to behold the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the deaf hear, or the dead raised up. The healing efficacy and blessed influence of the Gospel will sufficiently vouch for its truth and excellence.

The evidence which thus possesses the soul is not liable to be impaired by time, as might an impression once made on the senses; but will shine more and more unto a perfect day. For the practice of reli-

[1] John vii. 16, 17.

gion, by purifying the heart, will raise and improve the understanding to conceive more clearly and judge more rightly of heavenly things and divine truths: the view and contemplation of which will return upon the heart the warmth of livelier hopes and more vigorous incitements to obedience; and effectual obedience will feel and testify, that it is the finger of God.

For is nature able by its own efficiency to clear the eyes of the mind; to rectify the will; to regulate the affections; to raise the soul to its noblest object in love and adoration of God; to employ it steadily in its best and happiest exercise, justice and charity to man; to detach its desires from the pleasures, profits, and honours of the world; to exalt its views to heavenly things; and to render the whole life godly, just, and sober? He, who impartially examines his own moral abilities by the pure and searching light of the Gospel, must discern their defects and weakness in every part; and when he well considers the tenor and spirit of this Gospel, must acknowledge, that he is not of himself sufficient for the attainments, to which it calls and conducts its faithful votary.

What then is it, that hath taken him by the hand, and leads him on in this rising path of virtue and holiness; that prevents his steps from sliding; or, if his foot hath slipped, raises him again; that keeps him steady in the right way; or, if at any time he hath wandered out of it, recalls him to it; that strengthens him to resist temptations, to endure trials, and to continue patiently in well-doing; that, as he advances, opens to his faith a still brightening view of the heavenly Jerusalem, through the gloom which our earthly state hangs upon death and futurity; and animates him to live and walk by this faith?

If

If these are exertions beyond the sphere of mere human activity, the question, whence such improvement of soul and spirit and life proceeds, will admit of an easy and clear answer. It is God who blesses our earnest petitions that we may do his will, and our sincere endeavours to do it, with the grace of his Holy Spirit; who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure; and thus verifies and fulfils the promises, made by Christ to those who ask in his name, of succour and strength from on high. Christ therefore is his beloved Son, by whom we are redeemed, and in whom we are accepted. The religion which he hath taught us, so worthy of God in the theory, and so favoured by him in the practice of its laws, proves its heavenly origin by the fruit which it produces; and brings its divinity home to the breast of the devout professor by experience of its power unto salvation.

It is natural to conclude, that he who has this conviction of its certainty, will be desirous of persuading others to the belief and practice of it, and will be of an apt and fit disposition to instruct them in it.

THE END.

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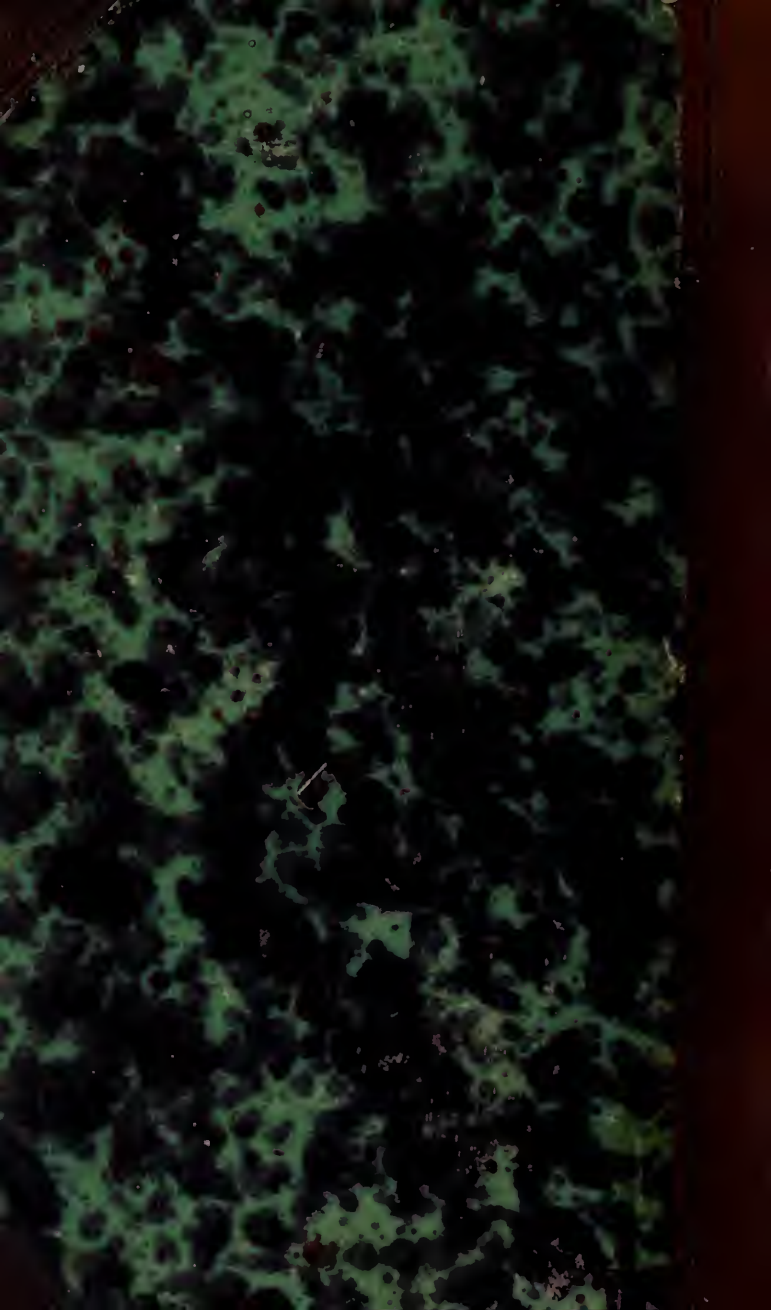
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